Carthagena, Ohio

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COMMONWEAL

NATURE AND OUR DISCONTENTS

Eileen P. Flynn on SURROGATE MOTHERHOOD

Mary Midgley on THE RIGHTS OF NATURE

William M. Thompson on MATTHEW FOX

TIM UNSWORTH On Chicago's Daniel Cantwell
PAUL E. DINTER on Standing in the Way of Worship
RACHEL NEILD on Uruguay: Forgive and Forget?
SAMUEL RABINOVE on the 1990 Census: Who Counts?

J. BRYAN HEHIR on the 1990s • JOHN GARVEY on the 1960s

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CORRESPONDENCE

Dangerous Liaisons

East Windsor, N.J.

To the Editors: In his review of the movie *Dangerous Liaisons* [March 10], Tom O'Brien calls Choderlos de Laclos's novel *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* a novel of few ideas. Perhaps—but they are huge ideas.

First, for example, O'Brien labels Tourvel a marquise. This would have been a huge "promotion" for her as her title was Presidente (from her husband's position) or simply Madame. In fact, Merteuil and Valmont were members of the highest level of aristocracy, while Tourvel was of a much lower rank, just a bit above the bourgeoisie. One of the points Laclos was making with this when he wrote, on the eve of the Revolution, was the exploitation of the lower classes by the upper classes—even among the nobility.

Secondly, O'Brien states that Merteuil "Oddly...doesn't see how private and selfish her feminism is...." This is using a twentieth-century perspective to judge an eighteenth-century context. Merteuil is, in fact, an example of what happens to a truly superior woman in a society so narrow that she can find no outlet for her energy. Laclos patterned her after real-life models of his era.

In the novel, Merteuil is by far the most energetic and intelligent character. Her reading of her society, and the story of how she created the monster she became, form the center letter of this epistolary work—the very heart of the novel. Merteuil exemplifies the emptiness that characterized the French nobility. In this, Laclos presents both a chilling portrait of pre-Revolutionary France and a parable for other repressive structures.

Note that, in the end, all—innocent and evil—encounter tragedy.

For starters, for a two-hundred-year-old novel, I think one can say that *Liaisons*, as novel or movie, is not without ideas.

ESTHER G. RADICK

Cloak of anonymity

Tucson, Ariz.

To the Editors: The article "Audition for Tragedy" [April 21] has the value of an anonymous letter. Unaccountable evaluation, although comfortable for the evaluator, is worthless.

Please consider inviting the views of "longtime observers of the church scene" who have the courage of their convictions and who practice the openness which they preach.

MOST REV. NICHOLAS E. WALSH
Bishop Emeritus of Yakima

What's in a name?

Convent, La.

To the Editors: I enjoyed the article "Audition for Tragedy" [April 21], but was disappointed at the end to learn that Joseph McNeal, author, is "the pseudonym of a longtime observer of the church scene."

I wanted to learn the identity of the author as an aid in determining how much credibility was due his piece. It puts an unnecessary burden on the reader, I think, to withhold the identity of the author of an article such as this.

It causes one to wonder what advantage there might be to the use of a pseudonym. Would it be to seek refuge in this way from possible reprisals for daring to speak out and thereby causing a sort of "scandal" in the church? The worst scandal in the church today would be, in my opinion, to have to hide one's identity when attempting to speak or report the truth out of fear of dire consequences. And I hope that such was not the reason for the use of a pseudonym in this instance.

JOHN CONDRY, S.J

Inexcusable sexism

Minneapolis, Minn.

To the Editors: It was with a heavy heart and great disappointment that I read Joseph McNeal's article in the April 21 issue, "Audition for Tragedy."

McNeal was correct. The statements he quoted from Cardinals Innocenti and Gagnon foster anticlericalism against an institution which is not only sexist but which clings to its sexist nature. The institution of the Catholic church continues to ignore the cost of its choices.

It is time for this woman to begin searching for a Christian community which has had the insight to recognize the dignity of women.

Recently, I read a definition of sin that made a great deal of sense to me: sin is an act which alienates one from one's true self. The institutional church's insistence on denying women a full participatory role in liturgy is an institutional sin. Not unforgivable, certainly, but increasingly inexcusable.

MARIAN G. HEANEY

Divorced Catholics

Boalsburg, Pa.

To the Editors: Joseph McNeal's article "Audition for Tragedy" [April 21] was

(Continued on page 382)

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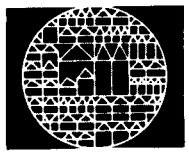

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Crowing before sunrise

At his first NATO summit, George Bush—recently described in these pages as the "invisible man" [May 19]—took on enough substance to cast a shadow, at last, on the world stage. He did it by proposing a negotiating posture for the Western Alliance that calls for early, substantial, bilateral reductions in conventional forces on the European front—this as a precondition for talks aimed at "partial" elimination of short-range nuclear missiles. Mr. Bush has described NATO's acceptance of this proposal as a "triumph" for himself and the U.S.

In fact, what happened in Brussels was, at least in part, the product of sleight-of-hand diplomacy. The divisive issue on the table was what to do about the short-range Lance missiles in place in Germany: The West Germans want them removed, the "Anglo-Saxons" want them replaced with "modernized" weapons, meaning missiles with a range just barely within the limitations of the earlier East-West agreement banning intermediate-range missiles. The agreement to discuss "partial" elimination of the missiles settles nothing. "Partial," said Mr. Bush, "means partial." Right: anywhere from 1 percent to 99 percent. It was a decision not to decide, to let both hawks and doves claim victory, and to postpone any fundamental choice of a future political/strategic course for NATO. That may have been the prudent way to go, the only resolution of the issue that could paper over the cracks. A triumph, it wasn't.

Putting the focus on conventional forces can be more far-reaching, and to the extent it was his idea Mr. Bush should be given due credit. But "can be" doesn't mean "will be." The complexities of comparing the strength of conventional forces are inherently great and easily subject to manipulation by any of the numerous parties involved—and some within NATO may be all too willing to take that road. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was scornful, and rather gleefully so, about the possibility of reaching agreement on conventional arms reductions within the six- to twelve-month time frame proposed by Mr. Bush. Our own hawks—including Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, the NATO high command, and dominant forces within the Pentagon—appear to be all but obsessed with the alleged need to continue basing NATO strategy on nuclear deterrence; not, it would seem, merely for years or decades but for generations to come. A denuclearized Europe, they say, means a Soviet-dominated Europe. They and their supporters in the political-military-industrial complex contend, and perhaps believe, that eliminating nuclear weapons or even sharply reducing their number means resting our security on a policy of hopeful trustfulness—as though we do not now live in hope and trust that mutual assured destruction will always remain only a threat and not a reality.

But the hawks face a problem. Their rationale for continued deterrence by nuclear terror rests entirely on repeated invocation of "enormous" Warsaw Pact superiority in conventional forces. Qualified military analysts questioned the accuracy of this

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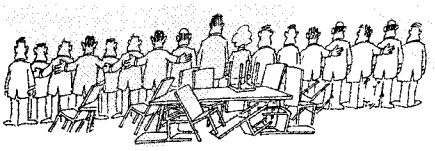

assessment even before the current process of political fission got under way in parts of Eastern Europe. The dogma would be difficult to sustain in the wake of really significant agreements in the Vienna talks on conventional arms, especially if the agreements included intensive and "intrusive" verification procedures and were followed by major steps toward implementation.

Will such agreements come to pass? Before Brussels, NATO responses to Soviet initiatives on conventional arms were grudging. The numbers the Alliance has now put forward as negotiation targets are more impressive; acceptance of the Soviet proposal to include aircraft among the weapons systems to be negotiated is another indication of dawning seriousness about the business at hand.

Clearly, however, there are people in high places, including the president's cabinet, who don't want too much success in Vienna, and it may be that Mr. Bush himself is on their team. His firm insistence, in discussing the missile issue, that there will be "no third zero"—we'll always have Lances, or something bigger and better—suggests that he is no more willing than Mrs. Thatcher to see a nuclear-free future over the horizon. If that is the case, his self-proclaimed triumph at Brussels will be modest indeed—certainly temporary, perhaps altogether illusory. NATO still doesn't have an assured future; nor does the planet.

ANTS & THE GREAT WALL

There is an ancient Zen saying that an iron dike a thousand miles long leaks through anthills. In China, the iron dike of the government of Deng Xiaoping now leaks blood. The government may have cleared Tiananmen Square, but its legitimacy has been undermined. In the generation to come, it will face the immovable horror and unalloyed anger of the Chinese people. No one the world over better expresses the moral outrage of these events than the bleeding masses in Tiananmen Square. Fired on in cold blood, run over by armored personnel carriers, bludgeoned and bayoneted, the students' weeks of nonviolent protest finally gave way to a violent response. They not only burned tanks and their occupants; they turned on the Great Hall of the People and, in an act of astounding defiance, stoned it.

The massive student demonstrations repeated in all of China's major cities this spring moved the nation to a higher and now painfully irreversible course of self-awareness. Influenced by the example of "people power" in the Philippines; informed by the international news media, long-distance telephone, and the use of FAX machines; and strengthened by a growing number of personal contacts with democratic societies abroad (since 1979, nearly 100,000 Chinese have studied in the U.S. alone), China's students engineered a well-disciplined, well-targeted attack on the corruption and restrictiveness of the Chinese Communist system. For the first time, but certainly not for the last, they spoke to and for broad segments of the 1.1 billion population. The resoluteness and sheer size of their efforts, with even the army initially showing a reluctance to put an end to the demonstrations, shook China's leadership as no upheaval has since the disastrous Cultural Revolution. Now the government's crushing response, executed in the name of order, may spawn further chaos.

China made a necessary and fateful decision a decade ago under Deng when it opted for more diversified and rapid economic development. There were social costs as well as benefits. The need for more responsive political structures suddenly became a requirement that the government was not able to meet. Yet in the words of Zhao Ziyang, then Chinese Communist leader, to Mikhail Gorbachev during his May visit to Beijing, "Political structural reform and economic structural reform should basically be synchronized. It won't do if one outstrips the other or if one lags behind the other."

Under Deng, there had been a 132 percent rise in per capita income in China between 1978-87, and the economy had boomed at an average annual rate of nearly 10 percent. Yet when Gorbachev arrived he was welcomed by the populace not simply as a major trading partner or as the architect of a new Sino-Soviet detente, but as the "pioneer of *glasnost*" and "emissary of democracy."

It is not only liberalizing events in the Soviet Union that have and will continue to force China to change, but China's contact with the market economies of the other major Pacific nations—Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, the U.S. These make up two-thirds of China's trade. Contacts with these nations—commercial, cultural, educational, and political—will continue to exert tremendous pressure on China. Its new long march has scarcely begun.

Under Deng, the movement for popular political reform has repeatedly met with walls of resistance. In 1978, protest leaders were given stiff sentences; in 1986, demonstrations were put down in more than twenty cities; in 1989, the recourse was murder. In 1981, Deng praised Wojciech Jaruzelski for his imposition of martial law on Poland. Yet in 1989, on the same day as the blood bath in the square, Gen. Jaruzelski was himself voting in the first democratic elections in Poland since World War II.

At this bitter moment, the people of China must take heart. Genuine solidarity is built year after year, layer upon sometimes bloody layer. For in China as in Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the iron itself is in the ants.

AN EDITOR TAKES LEAVE

When we happily welcomed Dave Toolan, S.J., to the editorial staff in the fall of '79, we could cite the following credentials:

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degrees from Fordham, Georgetown, and Southern Methodist; nine years of teaching theology at Canisius College in Buffalo; his roles there in adult education, with the Harrisburg Defense Committee, and in ecumenical work. Now that Dave is leaving, for the editorial staff of *America*, we point with pride to an impressive list of his achievements for *Commonweal*. The high quality he maintained in his review department has been reflected in the number of awards we received for the review section from the annual convention of the Catholic Press Association, among them the first prize for excellence on five separate occasions in the 1980s, including this year. The list of critics he secured for the magazine is a distinguished one. He has, besides, recently brought out an impressive volume of his own, *Facing West from California's Shores* (Crossroad). But this tribute to Dave's expertise could obscure the abiding impact of his nine years of genial presence among us and the value to the staff of his unfailing encouragement and companionship. We shall greatly miss him. Dave must know that he carries with him *Commonweal's* warmest good wishes as he proceeds to the next stage of his career.

TRUE FRIENDS AND FALSE

Secretary of State James Baker said all of the right things; so did Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. Both men had hard sayings for their audiences. In Washington, Mr. Baker was addressing AIPAC (the American Israel Public Affairs Committee) at its annual conference. In Morocco, Mr. Mubarak spoke before the Arab League as Egypt rejoined it after being expelled ten years ago for making peace with Israel. Egypt is still at peace with Israel, yet it was "warmly" welcomed back. Mr. Mubarak thinks making peace both with Israel and among Arab nations is a good idea—and he said so. Over the objections of Syria and Libya, he secured acceptance by the League of Yasir Arafat's decision to meet American conditions for dialogue with the PLO.

Mr. Baker in Washington offered evenhanded advice. To the Israelis he said: "lay aside...the unrealistic vision of a greater Israel....Forswear annexation; stop settlement activity; allow schools to reopen; reach out to the Palestinians as neighbors who deserve political rights." To the Palestinians he said: "now is the time to speak with one voice for peace....Amend the [Palestine National] covenant. Translate the dialogue of violence in the *intifada* into a dialogue of politics and diplomacy....Reach out to Israelis and convince them of your peaceful intentions." Mr. Baker concluded by reminding the Palestinians that they had the most to gain from pursuing peace, that no one else could do what they had to do themselves.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir called the speech "useless." But the Israelis, like the Palestinians, must do what no one else can do for them—make peace. A number of American Jewish leaders attending the AIPAC meeting were dismayed by what was described as Mr. Baker's "blunt" and "unsentimental" tone. Israel, with reason to feel isolated in the world, is accustomed to moral as well as material support from the U.S.; warm words along with hard dollars. For the most part, the Reagan administration supplied both kinds of backing; rather than help Israel face reality in the occupied territories, the U.S. turned a blind eye on the proliferation of West Bank settlements, thereby encouraging belligerent complacency in the Likud, timidity and indecisiveness in the Labor Alignment. The *intifada* is one consequence. Deepening polarization among Israelis is another; today, even to talk about trading land for peace rouses threats of armed insurrection against the government, and the settlers, dissatisfied with even the toughest measures taken by the army to contain the *intifada*, increasingly behave as vigilantes and dream of expelling all but the most docile Palestinians from the territories.

This is fantasy land. By declaring the notion of a "Greater Israel" as untenable as the hope of a "Greater Palestine," Mr. Baker administered some reality therapy. Because he did so, the U.S., for the first time since Jimmy Carter brought Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin to Camp David, acted toward Israel with the candor of true friendship.

In keeping with *Commonweal's* usual summer schedule, only one issue is published each month during July and August. The next issue will be dated July 14.

CREATING A CHASM

Once more, the rich are getting richer; yet again, the poor are getting poorer—right here in the U.S. And the gap is destined to grow. Unless drastic measures—a truly progressive income tax and/or a system of significant child-care subsidies—are put into effect, the gap's negative impact upon our political and social lives will continue to be felt for generations to come.

The gap has been documented most recently by the House Ways and Means Committee and by Sheldon Danzinger, Peter Gottschalk, and Eugene Smolensky [*American Economic Association*, May proceedings]. The latter report shows that the highest one-fifth of U.S. families received 43.7 percent of all national income in 1987, while the lowest fifth received only 4.6 percent.

The House study shows that the family income of the poorest one-fifth of the population declined by 6 percent, while that of the highest fifth rose by 11 percent. In real dollars (adjusted for inflation) this means the family income of the poorest dropped from $5,439 in 1979 to $5,107 in 1987. The family income of the richest increased from $61,917 to $68,775. Compare $69,000 to $5,000, which are family averages. And then there's Michael Milken's personal salary and bonuses of $550 million per year.

The wealthy have always had more opportunities than others to increase their incomes—inheritances, higher interest rates on

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large investments, multiple real estate holdings, tax loopholes. But the Danziger study suggests more complex developments in the increasing income gap. Not only has the U.S. shifted from a manufacturing to a service economy, but national economies everywhere are quickly being replaced by "global" economies, which means for starters that a cheap labor supply anywhere is in the competition for jobs everywhere.

Perhaps the most surprising finding of the two studies was that women's income was the primary reason for income growth at the top. Women's income accounts for more than 50 percent of the richest group's income growth. When women and men who are highly educated and able to command high incomes marry one another, their family income increases significantly if both work full-time. Corporate executives' salaries are up, and some of the highest income families appear to have two of them. Meanwhile, salaries at the lowest end of the income scale—where the international job competition has already had an impact—are down. Thus, the gap grows wider.

Since wealth and its indirect benefits are easily passed on from generation to generation, the system for insuring ever wider income inequalities is quickly and fatally being laid in place.

ET CETERA

CHECK IT OUT On the chance that you are not always and unfailingly a cover-to-cover reader, we call your attention to the very back of this issue, and request that you memorize the golden words you will find there: The judges' citations accompanying some of the *eight* (count 'em) awards presented to *Commonweal* at the annual convention of the Catholic Press Association late last month.

The awards include three firsts, for "Best Election Year Coverage" (special thanks to Fred Siegel); "Best Short Story," (Joan Sauro, "Death in the Convent"); and "Best Review Section." On these we wholeheartedly agree with the judges. There were also four second-place awards in other categories, and we've decided to accept them: "Best Editorial"; "Best Regular Column" (David R. Carlin, Jr.); "Best Poetry" (Dixie Partridge); and "General Excellence." And, finally, a third-place award for "Best Single Piece of Promotion"—an ad designed by Emil Antonucci that ran in the *New York Times Book Review* last Labor Day. (It worked, too.)

There'll be a quiz next week.

SHOOTING IN THE DARK The upshot of President Bush's anti-crime plan is that once again the NRA has outgunned the nation's police and its citizenry. The plan, announced on May 15, aims to ban permanently the import of semi-automatic assault weapons, but it allows domestic-made production to continue full-force, which constitutes 75 percent of the weapons sold in the U.S. We thought George Bush (or was it Barbara?) was smarter than this (see *Commonweal*, April 7).

While Bush's plan would stop the manufacture, sale, import, or transfer of semi-automatic weapon magazines, it applies only to guns capable of firing more than fifteen rounds of ammunition at once. (Never mind that you could be dead after number one.)

The proposal would ban gun sales not only to persons convicted of certain violent crimes, but to persons convicted of violent misdemeanors or serious drug offenses. Yet there is no provision to bolster the effectiveness of the current pre-sale checking procedure. The plan, which should discourage the drug gangs who buy and use semi-automatic weapons, is full of holes, at least fifteen rounds worth.

REPORT FROM URUGUAY

FORGIVE & FORGET?
A COUNTRY CONFRONTS ITS PAST

After four months of drought in Uruguay it poured with rain all day Sunday, April 16, as people stood in lines, sprouting umbrellas like rows of black mushrooms, to vote on whether to uphold or overturn a 1986 law giving amnesty to military personnel responsible for gross violations of human rights during the 1973 to 1984 regime.

I came out of a vote count in *El Cerro*, a working-class neighborhood of Montevideo, at 9 P.M. In the square, trees dripped on four horses turned loose to graze and on three men bent under the hood of an old car. On the radio the results were being announced and it became clear that the "yellow" vote (to uphold the law) was winning over the "green" (to overturn it). Back at the office of SERPAJ Uruguay (the human rights organization, Peace and Justice Service) the *familiares*, family members of the disappeared, were watching the results on TV, quiet and tense as they saw the green vote losing. In the office kitchen the analysis had begun: "No one is supporting impunity; this is not like Argentina where some people thought the military did the right thing. People here are supporting politicians who are saying that at this time we have no other solution. No one thinks that what the military did was a good thing, just that this time what has been done is better stood by than reversed."

The kitchen debate circled the fact that both green and yellow votes were votes against a return to military rule. The yellow vote perceived a still fragile democracy, a society in need of reconciliation, wanting to put the past behind and deal with the problems of the future, with the debt and unemployment, with the exodus of young people from an economically depressed country. The green vote said that justice is the only path to peace and democracy, and that without accounting for the past, the future can never be secure. They saw that the yellow vote was made for reasons of political pragmatism, and made with a

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heavy heart. The impunity law was upheld.

Since the 1984 elections that ended eleven years of military rule, the human rights debate has been constantly in the press. Opinion polls have shown that a consistent and large majority oppose amnesty for the military (78 percent in 1986). A poll taken in Montevideo in 1986, shortly after the impunity law was passed, showed that 53 percent of the population not only believed that the measure failed to resolve the constitutional crisis, but that it debilitated democratic institutions. Given these beliefs, why was the law upheld? I believe that the yellow victory reflects a loss of faith in the ability of politicians and democratic institutions to provide another solution. It also reflects the inability of the green vote to answer the question, "what happens if you win?" The impunity law had been passed to avert a constitutional crisis—would not overturning it simply precipitate another one?

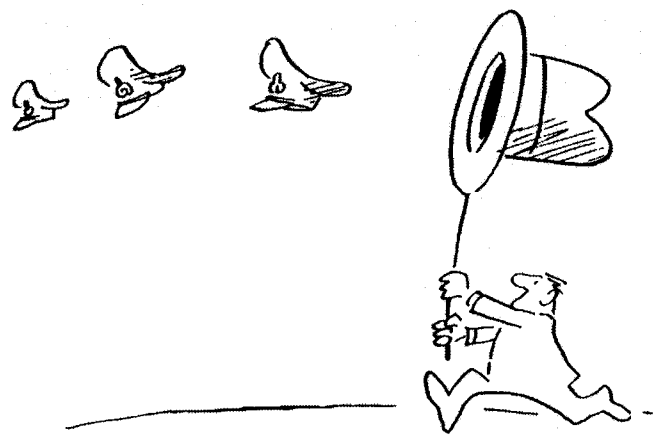
The years of military repression in Uruguay had affected everybody to some degree. Amnesty International estimated that one in every fifty Uruguayans had been arrested and that one in every sixty-one had been tortured. Uruguay had the highest percentage per capita of political prisoners and some of the worst prison conditions in the world. Half a million people had fled this country whose total population is under four million. In the most sinister "Brave New World" fashion, all citizens were given ideological rankings of A, B, or C. A person classified as "C" was barred from public sector employment and not allowed a passport.

Before the November 1984 elections, informal talks took place between members of the military command and political parties. Participants maintain that the question of human rights was not broached. While some believe that there was a secret agreement, others argue that silence itself, given the experience the country had just lived though, constituted a tacit agreement not to prosecute human rights violators.

However, a declaration was issued two months later by a group called CONAPRO (National Programmatic Alliance) that incorporated all political parties and organizations representing diverse social sectors. CONAPRO stated that failing to investigate human rights violations and allowing violators impunity "constitutes a grave risk for the real protection of human rights in the future." This was the policy course that President Julio Sanguinetti appeared to be set on following the elections. He specifically excluded violators of human rights from an amnesty for most remaining political prisoners, and stated to the UN that human rights violations would be clarified and perpetrators tried.

In 1986, thirty-eight cases were before the courts—very few cases, given the extent of the repression. Many Uruguayans who had suffered did not want to present their personal cases. A human rights lawyer told me: "They were happy to be witnesses, but there was a tendency to say 'my case is not important.'" The total number of military and police personnel implicated was between 180 and 200, but this was too much for the Armed Forces.

Under pressure from the military, Sanguinetti started to examine other options. Between June and November political



parties presented three proposals for partial and total amnesties. They were all rejected. Then, in November, 1986 the Supreme Court upheld civilian jurisdiction over the cases which had been challenged by the military. The Armed Forces told political leaders that they would not comply. Faced by a constitutional crisis, and apparently persuaded of the need for military approbation in order to have a hope of ruling in the future, the Blanco Party reversed its position, and the so-called impunity law was passed two days before the subpoenaed officers were due to appear.

In effect the law meant that the state resigned its right to try the military. Article 4 of the law mandated investigations into disappearances, but in an action universally repudiated by human rights organizations, Sanguinetti nominated an active-duty military prosecutor to carry them out. The officer declared that there was insufficient evidence to implicate military officers and closed down investigations. Not only was there no judicial accounting for violations, but there was no official investigation or clarification of the fate of the "disappeared."

The popular reaction to these events demonstrates how far the political debate had drifted from people's feelings on the issue. Taking advantage of a constitutional clause, unique in Latin America, that allows a referendum on a law if 25 percent of the electorate sign a petition within a year of its being passed, the wives of murdered Senators Ruiz and Michelini formed the National Pro-Referendum Commission. During 1987, they managed to collect more than the required 555,000 signatures, only to face a bitter and confrontational verification process that dragged on through 1988. Thousands of signatures were nullified for increasingly trivial reasons, and many were suspended for later confirmation. The Pro-Referendum Commission was faced with the task of verifying 23,000 signatures in order for the referendum to be held and by the date set by the administration—the last weekend before Christmas when all Uruguay goes to the beach for summer vacations.

With the requisite number of signatures validated, the referendum was set for April 16, 1989. The streets of Montevideo were plastered with bright green smiley faces and banners that proclaimed "Equal Justice Under Law." The government campaign was largely on TV, which the green vote could not

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afford. At the vote each side had the right to have observers; the green observers were all volunteers, the yellow were paid 3,000 pesos—about three dollars—for the day.

On that Sunday the vote went ahead peacefully and the yellow vote won by 57 percent to 43 percent. The results reflected Uruguayan social divisions; in the countryside the yellow vote won overwhelmingly, while in Montevideo the green vote had a small majority. The old voted yellow; the young voted green. Afterwards no one protested or celebrated, at least not in public.

The official conclusion proclaimed that the referendum demonstrated Uruguay's ability to solve problems democratically and was therefore a victory for all. It was an impressive democratic decision, all the more so because it was fought against official resistance.

The autonomy of the military, however, remains unchallenged. In what was a traditionally antimilitaristic society the Armed Forces are now a political actor. Civilian politicians have yet to assert their authority and define the proper peacetime role and mission of the military. Unfortunately, official rhetoric following the plebiscite has presented it as the end of the problem, with the implication that the political inertia will continue on the question of regulating civil-military relations. Although the military budget and personnel were cut after the elections and some reforms were made in the education system, intelligence mechanisms remain largely intact and the national-security mindset responsible for the human rights violations of the past has not changed significantly.

These facts seem likely to go unacknowledged while the *familiares* face the fact that they are now unlikely ever to find out what happened to their "disappeared."

RACHEL NEILD

Rachel Neild is an associate with the Washington Office on Latin America, and works for human rights in Uruguay, Chile, and Paraguay.

THE 1990 CENSUS

FINDING OUT WHO COUNTS

WHY THE NUMBERS MATTER

In Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution, the Founding Fathers decreed that there should be a count of "the whole number of free persons" in the country every ten years. Often enough in the ensuing decades that simple provision has led to conflict. Then as now, census results had political effects, since the main purpose of the census is to apportion membership in the House of Representatives. Today, census data also affect distribution of federal grants to localities, raising issues of justice as well as power.

The first twelve censuses, beginning in 1790, were all done by temporary help. Every ten years the government would hire census enumerators to do the job; when it was finished, the counters would disband. It was not until 1902 that Congress decided to create a permanent Bureau of the Census. The bureau's primary role has not changed, but its scope has grown enormously. The 1790 count required 650 enumerators and cost $44,000; the forthcoming 1990 census has a budget of $2.6 billion and will add 480,000 temporary employees to the permanent roster of 5,000.

From its inception, the decennial census has triggered complaints. George Washington believed that the first census gave the country a count that was short of the real numbers. The issue of undercounting continues to cause intense controversy, most recently over the number of people who are in the country illegally. Some politicians insist that "illegal aliens" are not entitled to be counted. To the extent possible, however, the bureau has always included such persons and will do so in 1990.

The Census Bureau acknowledges that it is simply unable to count everyone. In 1980, it says, the overall population was undercounted by between 1 and 2 percent. For blacks, the undercount was between 5 and 6 percent and for Hispanics it was only slightly lower. The current question is what, if anything, ought to be done about this in the 1990 census. Should population totals for blacks, Hispanics, and others be adjusted upward in census totals to reflect the reality that millions of people simply cannot be found by normal census methods? The Reagan administration said no, and the Bush administration has echoed that line. Census Bureau officials say that "playing with the numbers" would open a statistical can of worms. But many outside experts, including a panel of the National Academy of Sciences, insist that a substantially accurate adjustment can be made.

In recent years, statisticians have developed and refined certain techniques to correct the census for undercount. The principal technique is called "dual-system estimation." This involves taking an independent second count of a sample of geographic areas. The persons identified in this "post-enumeration survey" are then matched with the persons tallied in the original census, producing a third and more accurate estimate of the population of those areas. By extrapolating from this third sample, the population of the nation as a whole as well as the count for specific geographic areas and for racial and ethnic groups can be projected.

Barbara A. Bailar, a twenty-nine-year Census Bureau veteran and its former associate director for research in the Reagan administration, says the decision not to adjust 1990 census figures to compensate for minority undercount is a "purely political decision" that is "dressed up in technical language." Because most members of racial minorities tend to vote Democratic, some congressional Democrats agree with her that partisanship determined the administration's decision.

Both power and money are at stake. Census figures form the basis for allotting seats in state legislatures and votes in the electoral college in presidential years as well as fixing the number of representatives each state will have in Congress. According to some experts, California could gain at least one seat in the House in the 1990s if blacks, Hispanics, and Asians were

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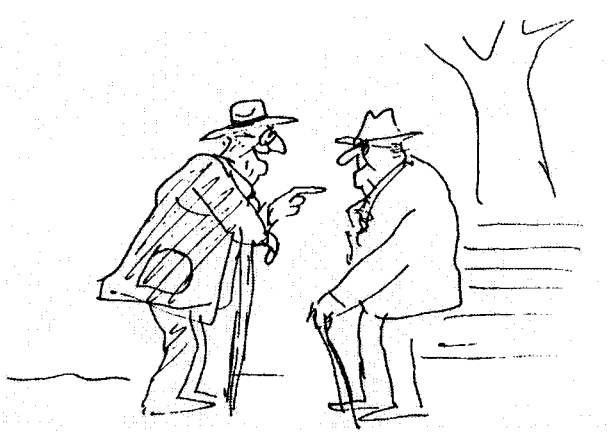
counted with the same accuracy as whites. Cities like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles would gain clout in their state legislatures. For these and other big cities, the government's decision not to compensate statistically for undercounted minorities has major economic effects, for population and income data are the basis for dispensing more than $30 billion in federal grants to states and municipalities for housing, education, transportation, environmental protection, and other services. Last year the U.S. Conference of Mayors urged Congress to order the Census Bureau to make the adjustments. In January Senator Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) and Congressman Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) introduced legislation to do so.

Administration officials maintain that manufacturing new population figures after the basic census is run amounts to "numbers shopping." The Commerce Department's view has been that such a change would only confuse the public, undermine the credibility of the census, and lead to charges of political tampering, an accusation that would harm the Census Bureau's image of remaining above partisan squabbles. The officials sketch a scenario where two sets of population figures—unadjusted and adjusted—could emerge for every locality, each with its own advocates. They also contend that the corrected population numbers would be the product of a pioneering statistical technique that does not draw unanimous support from demographers. Further, they say, alternate adjustment formulas could produce radically different numbers.

The heart of the matter is who gets counted and who doesn't. Most people receive census questionnaires by mail. Those who don't return them are supposed to get a personal visit from a census enumerator. In practice, however, many people fall through the cracks, especially in urban areas. Not only homeless people but many low-income minorities are not on postal lists and are easily overlooked. Despite the census pledge of confidentiality, many undocumented aliens want nothing to do with government, and multiple families crowded into a single apartment against the rules are often reluctant to list the real number of occupants. Finally, census enumerators, fearful for their own safety, sometimes refuse to enter buildings in low-income neighborhoods.

While Census Bureau officials who support the administration's position concede that an adjustment formula, developed since the 1980 census, would improve census accuracy, they maintain that applying the formula would require time-consuming surveys and computer runs, and that the bureau might not be able to deliver state population totals to the president, as required by law, by the December 31, 1990 deadline.



"You look familiar. Didn't I meet you at the 1920 Census Count?"

Meantime, the dispute over the counting of illegal aliens continues. The Census Bureau estimated that in 1980 there were some 3 to 4 million undocumented aliens residing in the U.S., of which it was able to count about 2 million. Some members of Congress wish to exclude all aliens from the 1990 count; counting such people, they say, deprives American citizens of the full weight of their votes. Demographers claim that if aliens were fully tallied Connecticut, Kansas, and Pennsylvania would be likely to lose seats in the House, while Texas, California, and New York probably would gain seats. Others in Congress have supported the Census Bureau's view that excluding aliens from the count is unconstitutional, and most congressional observers believe that legislation to bar the count of such persons has little chance of enactment.

The same is true, however, of the Moynihan-Dellums proposal that would require the Census Bureau to adjust its results for an undercount. Accordingly, a group of civic organizations (including the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the NAACP), cities (New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago), and states (New York and California) filed suit in U.S. District Court in Brooklyn last November to compel the Commerce Department to adjust the results of the 1990 census to account for people inadvertently missed.

Trial of the suit is expected to begin this summer. In April, Judge Joseph M. McLaughlin refused a Commerce Department request for dismissal, based on the contention that the plaintiff had no grounds to sue. "It strikes the court as absurd," said the decision, "to suggest that a disproportionate loss of political representation will not necessarily follow in the wake of the miscount."

The suit includes an affidavit from Barbara Bailar, the former Census Bureau official, who asserts that the department's decision not to adjust for an undercount is arbitrary and "substantively flawed." It is worth noting that Ms. Bailar had previously opposed making such adjustments on the ground that there was then no adequate means for accomplishing it with accuracy. She was, in fact, the chief government witness in an earlier unsuccessful lawsuit by New York City over the 1980 census results. But after years of research on the question she not only changed her position but resigned from the Census Bureau over the issue. She has since told a congressional committee that the determination not to make an adjustment would raise serious questions about the fairness and objectivity of the census. Ms. Bailar's shift on the question was instrumental in the decision to bring the new lawsuit. It remains to be seen whether the plaintiffs will prevail. But people who care about justice should certainly hope so.

SAMUEL RABINOVE

Samuel Rabinove is legal director of the American Jewish Committee.

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J. Bryan Hehir

DECADE OF DECISION

POSSIBILITIES FOR THE NINETIES

The month of May, in foreign policy terms, appeared to belong to Mikhail S. Gorbachev. On a broad range of issues—announcing unilateral arms cuts to Secretary of State James Baker, declaring a cutback of military aid to Nicaragua, and providing statesmanlike advice to his beleaguered Chinese hosts—the Soviet leader dominated the global stage. The U.S. response initially swung from stodgy (resurrecting "open skies," a 1950s proposal, as an initiative in the 1980s) to silly (Marlin Fitzwater's characterization of Gorbachev as a "drugstore cowboy"). The contrast inevitably generated a spate of commentary on the substance and style of the Bush administration and its ability to address the Gorbachev phenomenon. President Bush went to the NATO summit in Brussels at the end of the month on the defensive. Then things changed; by setting forth a set of bold proposals for the negotiations, troop reductions, and a vision of a united Europe, Mr. Bush helped to fashion a new consensus within the NATO alliance and he regained center stage with Mr. Gorbachev.

It is reasonable to assume that a year from now, many of the events of May will be judged to be the beginning of a long process which will take much of the next decade to work out. But it should also be clearer within another year that the transition from the 1980s to the 1990s does signal deeper and broader shifts in international relations that must be defined and addressed.

Specifically, while there will be continuity on the topic of arms control, there will also be three changes in the way the superpowers address that topic in the 1990s. The 1990s will see, I believe, a primacy of the political over the strategic; a near equality of importance between conventional and nuclear negotiations; and a need to address the systemic as well as the superpower dimension of arms control. In each of those three shifts one finds a full agenda of empirical and ethical questions.

First, the most important and potentially significant shift is the move from strategic to political issues in the U.S.-Soviet relationship. The two premises of arms control negotiations over the past thirty years have been: (1) that basic political agreement between the superpowers was not possible, so hostility and conflict were the reasonable assumptions for the relationship; and (2) in spite of political conflict, it was still possible to define a narrow area of strategic issues where both powers could find a common interest in stabilizing the nuclear relationship. These premises have yielded limited but significant agreements designed to stabilize the strategic balance.

The possibility arising from Mr. Gorbachev's announced objectives for a new international agenda is that the political relationship of the superpowers can be fundamentally changed. The degree of improvement possible, the nature of the new relationship, is more difficult to describe than the simple recognition that basic rather than marginal changes are now possible.

Two established scholars of U.S.-Soviet relations, George Kennan and Marshall Shulman, have both described the possible outcome as a return to classical big power competition: less ideological and less dangerous than the standard Cold War pattern. The shift of emphasis and focus, from strategic to political relations, will not, of course, dispense with the need for arms control negotiations. If political relations can be set on a new course, however, they will open the way to a much broader range of arms control choices than the first thirty years of these negotiations presumed possible.

The second change, toward conventional *and* nuclear negotiations, will shape the content of arms control in the 1990s. A combination of factors—the consequences of the INF Treaty, the two Gorbachev proposals on conventional force reductions (in December and in May), the desire of U.S. allies in NATO for progress on force reductions in the European theater—all point to the rising significance of the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe that opened in March.

In the 1990s, nuclear negotiations (which begin this month) will share center stage with conventional force talks. The new "dual track"—partly a product of improved political relations, partly the result of strategic necessity—raises a set of conceptual, tactical, and technical choices that are now being addressed with new enthusiasm in the arms control literature. The questions do not yield quick answers. How measure the forces on each side? How relate conventional force reductions to strategic arsenals? Where do stability and security lie—in continuing reliance on nuclear weapons as the ultimate deterrent, in a new mix which "lengthens the nuclear fuse," or in an effort to shift purely and simply to conventional deterrence in the European theater?

The third change of the 1990s will be the requirement to join a systemic (or global) concern for arms control with the traditional superpower agenda. The catalyst that will push attention to the systemic level is the need in 1995 to renegotiate the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). Since its signing in 1968, the NPT has bound over 100 nations to the obligation of not expanding the number of nuclear weapons states in the world. The treaty has been remarkably successful in spite of the fact that key states remain outside its ambit.

The requirement to renegotiate the

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treaty will raise a series of critical questions not only about nuclear weapons, but about the nature of the international system. Many of the signers of the original treaty—especially those from developing countries—have come to view it as inherently "discriminatory." The charge refers to the perceived advantages that derive from being a "nuclear state," and the function of the NPT in legitimating a world of nuclear and non-nuclear states. But the specific critique points to a deeper and broader dissatisfaction of many of the non-nuclear states with the daily dynamics of the international system. In return for a recommitment to non-proliferation, many of these states will want to raise questions and demands about other aspects of world politics. The discussions will push beyond the security agenda to the interdependence issues of political economy.

Each of these three shifts embodies ethical as well as empirical questions. The new forum of superpower politics is really the key exchange affecting the ethics of world order. A real and radical breakthrough on superpower relations could affect not only bilateral arms control issues, but the European question remaining since Yalta, and the multiplicity of regional conflicts that the superpowers can either intensify by their involvement or aid by their diplomacy.

The conventional-nuclear relationship will force those who have analyzed the frailties and dubious benefits of deterrence to become explicit about their views on a return to conventional deterrence (with its dubious European history: 1870; 1914; 1939). Or it will require them to play out the ethical quality of declining reliance on deterrence and other possible replacements for it.

The systemic dimensions of arms control raised by the NPT will offer the opportunity to examine how the East-West security issues of peace are to be linked to the North-South interdependence issues of justice. The NPT matrix provides a rare setting to relate these two moral questions in a single framework.

The issues of the 1990s will both reflect those of the past twenty years and raise all of them to new levels of complexity and possibility for resolution. □

OF SEVERAL MINDS John Garvey

THOSE WEREN'T THE DAYS

A SIXTIES' RETROSPECTIVE

The sixties...they're over, we hear, or we are told that it is a shame that the spirit of the sixties is gone, or that we should be glad that it's gone, or that it isn't really gone. However you see them, positively or negatively, the sixties have come to symbolize a lot of things. For a lot of us they symbolize being a certain age. It was an adolescent time, with lots of energy, moral certainty, self-righteousness, and an anger we were sure was justified by the real horror of the war in Southeast Asia and the forms of oppression endured by black Americans.

In reaction to this, some people have turned to the narrowest sort of conservatism. If some antiwar protesters (they were by no means close to a majority) were naive about the benign intentions of the National Liberation Front, if the Pol Pot regime showed the evil side of a messianic Marxism attractive to some of the New Left, then...in a somewhat astonishing leap—Reagan was right to support the *contras*, and all attempts to create a more just social order are utopian. This is one not uncommon reaction to the sixties, usually taken by formerly leftish people who were as uncritical of whatever was in the air then as they are now.

There is another response which is equally naive. That is the reaction of those who see the sixties as a better time, who believe that more people—particularly more young people—were generous of spirit then, and had a more positive belief in their power to effect decent changes in society than they do today. There were generous people at work then, and there still are. Many antiwar activists did what they did for reasons that were clear and honorable. At the same time, many people who opposed the war did so for reasons of self-interest. Others were moral about the war because it was a kind of cheap grace: bourgeois morality (loyalty to friends, fidelity to one's wife, the ordinary difficult struggle for decency) was less appealing and less simply undertaken than the morality of being outraged at something thousands of miles away. To hate and despise Lyndon Johnson (Kennedy always comes out of this time curiously and unfairly unscathed, maybe because he was killed) proved that you weren't like him, and therefore you must be O.K. Much of the imagery of protest was directed against the military, unjustly, and not against a Congress that could have ended the war any time, because it had the power of the purse, but was afraid to do so. Such insensitive symbolic actions as burning the flag alienated millions of Americans who might otherwise have been willing to listen. (Norman Thomas's wise advice was ignored: don't burn the flag, he said, wash it.)

I remember it as an angry, unhappy time. We had much to be angry and unhappy about. Most of us, remembering the time, look naturally to big, common symbolic moments...particular rallies, moments like the Kennedy assassination or the King assassination or the death of the students at Kent State...or to moments in our own lives which reflect the period with particular force. Two of them came back to me when Abbie Hoffman died and the press was full of resurrected stories about his humor, perhaps the most appropriate quality to bring to a time which certainly could not be fathomed rationally.

I taught high school during the late sixties and once had to substitute for a teacher who was ill. The high school, like many, tracked students. No one was fooled by the tracks. The people at the top were the smart students; the people at the bottom were the slow ones. With the draft in force, this meant that the people in the lower tracks would not graduate into the deferments offered to college-bound stu-

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dents, but into uniform. The war had been going on long enough so that these students knew that a sizable minority of them could be wounded or killed before very long. The class I was called on to teach that day was the lowest track in the senior year, all male, most of the students larger than I. (That isn't difficult.) They were angry and hard to control. I didn't blame them at all. The future looked and felt lousy to them, and they were reacting in a way with which I sympathized.

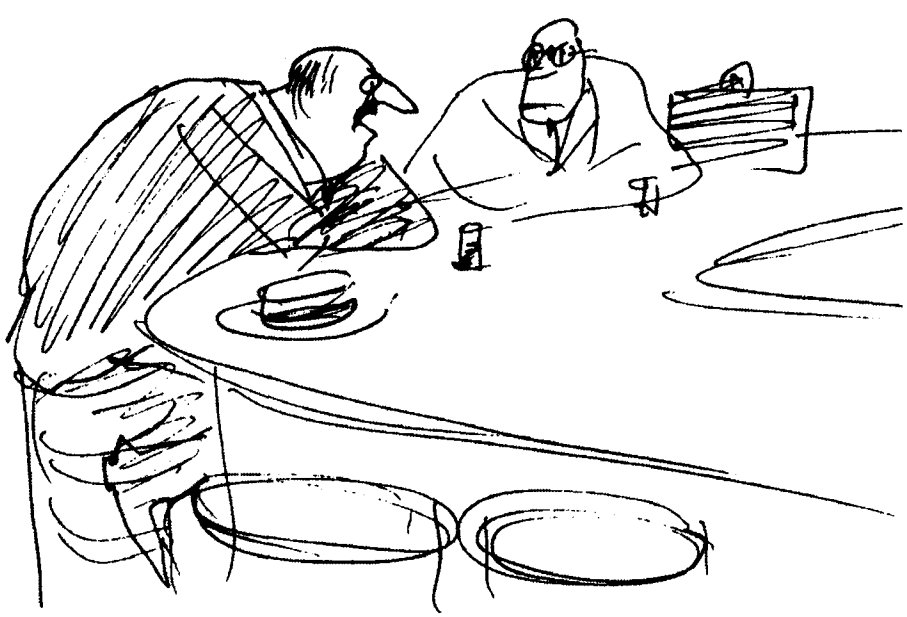
At the same time, I did have to maintain some kind of order. One student in particular was making this hard to do. All reasonable attempts to create some calm, to start a discussion, to move through the assigned material—or even to keep students in their seats, speaking at less than a roar—failed. I realized that the only way I could get any sort of control over the class was to seem crazy and unpredictable. So without feeling any anger at all I grabbed the collar of the student who was temporarily in control of the chaos (controlled chaos, in this case, was not really an oxymoron) and, feeling no anger at all, pretended great rage and told him to sit down and shut up. I was very tired that day. When I am tired I sometimes develop a tic in one eyelid. It makes me look mildly deranged, and it chose that moment to show up. Feeling calm at heart, realizing how ridiculous I must look pretending rage with one fluttering eyelid, I began to laugh, and realized that now I must seem absolutely insane. It worked. They calmed right down, and it was clear to me—it was a moment of satori-like revelation—that I would never teach another year of high school.

But what also struck me when I thought about it, after that class, was how different these kids were from the upper-track kids I taught who were headed for college and were relatively happy and optimistic about their chances. A few left-wing writers have dealt with what class meant during the Vietnam War, but not enough. For several years I was a draft counselor, helping young men who wanted to get conscientious objector status under the selective service law. Almost all of the young men who came to talk with us came from the zip-code area where doctors and lawyers lived. The law itself demanded a certain articulateness and an educated person's ability to deal with the system. A woman who, like her husband, had never been to college phoned me to mourn over the way her son (who was seeking a discharge from the service as a conscientious objector) had been turned by some college draft counselors against her and against his father, and the role of class became clearer, and very painful: they could think only in terms of loving their country and therefore of accepting military service, and from their point of view their son was being urged to find that idea small, if not meaningless. They identified the college he went to, and the people there who had encouraged him to question what he was going through, with hatred for America, and with whatever dark forces there are which separate parents from their children.

The other moment which makes the sixties feel like a less-than-wonderful time occurred when draft counselors in a city not far away had been threatened by a right-wing paramilitary group. Notes were sent out: "The crossed hairs are aimed at the back of your neck, traitor." We were all paranoid then. People almost enjoyed the thought that their phones were tapped, and the local FBI office called in a priest who had been associated with the counseling service to tell him he might be aiding lawbreakers. Very late one night I was lying on a couch reading, wife and children asleep upstairs, and something that sounded a lot like a short series of gunshots made me roll off the couch and turn off the light and hope that it hadn't been aimed toward the rooms upstairs. Then I felt very stupid: it was probably backfire from a car, and this was paranoid behavior in the extreme. I went upstairs and everything was fine: no holes, no one even awakened by the sound.

The next day I went outside and saw that my next-door neighbor's car had several bullet holes in the front door. It turned out that he was a member of the state attorney's staff and had a role in breaking up a drug ring; this was vengeance, apparently. I first felt a strange relief, and then, seeing that I felt it, felt really odd. What an awful time: I was pleased that they weren't shooting at me for anti-war stuff; thank God, they were shooting at my neighbor, for breaking up a drug ring.

I thought about those moments, how funny and strange they were, and how horrible at their base. That was the sixties. I don't miss the time at all. □



"I've been a fascist, a commie, a nihilist, an anarchist, a free-enterpriser, a religious nut and God knows what else. Nowadays, I'm more or less apathetic."

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FIFTY YEARS OF CHANGING MINDS & STRUCTURES

TIM UNSWORTH

A PROFILE OF CHICAGO'S DAN CANTWELL

Most nights, Dan Cantwell has his dinner at the kitchen table in the late Victorian rectory of Old St. Patrick's Church at the outer edge of Chicago's Loop. The parish dog Goldie, an overweight retriever, is often his only companion. The other parish priests are usually about their pastoral business, bringing Chicago's oldest parish back to life with an energy and imagination that occasionally leaves the nearly seventy-five-year-old Cantwell bemused.

"I find it hard to believe" he said, "that God takes comfort in our loneliness." The remark was pure Cantwell. With one painfully touching observation, he capsulized his views on celibacy, about which he has been speaking and writing since the early 1970s. His comment contained both intellectual and emotional components. Dan Cantwell always manages to address both mind and heart.

"Would our Blessed Mother smoke?" he asked in a 1946 *Commonweal* article. "Would she chew gum in public?" (Four decades ago, these were deep theological questions in many Catholic schools. It was a time when piety was preferred to social action.) "It is much more important that we ask 'Would she sign a restrictive covenant?' or 'Would she refuse to join a labor union?'" Again, Dan Cantwell used his gift of the embracing example that had a consciousness-raising ripple effect on head and heart.

Prophets remain a permanently endangered species. Many speak too loud; their anger and their egos crowd their thinking. They end up shouting in an empty hall or tied to a stake. Dan Cantwell combined the necessary balance of prophecy and volume control that permitted him to be heard. During his half-century of preaching and teaching, he never adopted the warrior role. Only rarely did anyone ask for his head on a plate. As a result, he remains one of the most respected priests in the nation.

Monsignor Daniel M. Cantwell's life has bracketed the most explosive period in the American church. In his lifetime, it has evolved from a largely ethnic, missionary church with a theological emphasis on piety and a muted voice on social issues. The "immigrant model," as it has been called, was extremely effective until a few years after Vatican II. Then, it all fell apart and, in Cantwell's words, "We await new light."

The teachings on labor of Leo XIII were just gaining attention when Cantwell was born in 1914. In 1931, Pius XI's *Quadragesimo anno* was released while Cantwell was a junior at Quigley, the archdiocesan seminary in downtown Chicago. Five years later, the man who was to have an enormous influence on his life, Reynold Hillenbrand, was appointed rector of the major seminary of St. Mary of the Lake.

Monsignor Hillenbrand changed the thrust and tone of seminary education in America. He modified the rigid and often mindless discipline of seminary life; he urged the students to develop a sense of the worldwide mission of the church; he insisted that the seminarians study the social encyclicals; he stressed the importance of liturgy and of the involvement of the laity in the life of the church.

During his final years at the major seminary, Cantwell became a "Hillenbrand man," a disciple of this prophetic but often crusty man who irritated almost as many as he inspired. Hillenbrand had no time for the small change of priestly interaction. If he went to a wake, it was to pray for the dead, not to embalm the deceased in the gargle or to spend the evening wallowing in clerical gossip. Superb in the front of the church, he never learned how to work the vestibule.

Hillenbrand's style and teachings did not sit well with some of the other priests on the faculty or in the chancery or with the wealthy residents in the suburbs near the seminary. His insistence that prayer was not a substitute for action to make the world a fit place in which to live made swivel chair leather burn and some clerical collars tighten. In the summer of 1944, Cardinal Samuel A. Stritch, in one of the worst decisions of his career, removed Hillenbrand from his job as rector and assigned him to a suburban parish. He was replaced by a traditionalist and the emphasis in the seminary returned to preparing kids for First Communion. But a great deal of Hillenbrand gospel had taken root. His generation of seminarians would influence American Catholics everywhere. Cantwell was among his most loyal pupils.

Following ordination in 1939, Dan Cantwell was assigned to a new parish on Chicago's South Side. His pastor was bewil-

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dered when he asked to attend a labor conference—What would a priest be doing talking about unions? But he gave Dan permission "provided it didn't interfere with parish duties."

Church movements are never smooth long-distance runs or flashy sprints. They are sack races. While seeming to be reactionary, the church lumbers in the right direction almost in spite of itself. ("Groping, not pontificating, is the church I know and love," Cantwell said in a 1987 talk.)

After only a year of parish work, Cantwell was sent with labor priest George Higgins and William McManus, later bishop of South Bend-Fort Wayne, for two years of graduate studies at Catholic University in Washington. His studies were followed by five years of teaching at the major seminary, mostly in sociology and the theological basis for liturgy. It was during this period that he became involved with the Catholic Labor Alliance (later The Catholic Council on Working Life), Friendship House, and the Catholic Interracial Council.

In 1947, the seminary faculty was taken over by the Jesuits and, after a brief stint in a parish, Cantwell was assigned as full-time chaplain to the lay groups with whom he had been working. He moved to the Catholic Worker's Peter Maurin House and lived with Chicago's forgotten flotsam and jetsam.

The next two decades were filled with efforts to change minds and structures. What Cantwell and his largely lay colleagues accomplished is now so commonplace that it can only be appreciated within the context of the times.

"My own thrust was not in the social movement as such but to free up the laity to spread the kingdom of God," he said in a recent interview. "And the laity have done that. It was an effort fifty years ago. We often worked in isolation. It seems utterly preposterous now that we had to take that approach, but that's the way it was."

"To be a Negro in America is to be a man six and one-half feet tall living all his life in rooms five feet high," Cantwell preached well before Selma and Martin Luther King, Jr. He called racism a cancer that could destroy religion. "Race hatred thrives in any society in which one race is deprived of power," he said when even committed Christians were still content with separate but equal justice. "Too many Catholics still do their part to maintain lily-white churches...to foster anti-Semitism, to keep Jews in their place," he wrote forty years ago. (Talk like that got him clobbered in the Chicago City Council by landlords and real estate moguls who owned city aldermen; but, years later, the council named him "Chicagoan of the Year.")

Most of Dan Cantwell's talks were not given in seminary classrooms or parish halls. He spoke in union halls, universities, and churches of other faiths at a time when unions enjoyed only selective church support and ecumenism was just a nervous dream. "It was always easier to ask forgiveness than to ask permission," he said. "In time, things would be accepted and then they (church authority) would take control."

Cantwell had an ability to say things in capsulated ways that engaged or enraged. He was always careful to cite authoritative sources, especially Pius XII, who reigned for the first twenty years of Cantwell's priesthood. He referred often to the now nearly vanished Mystical Body of Christ, a favorite theme of Pius XII, and reminded his listeners that even the cautious, regal pope said "there can be no such thing as slothful tranquillity."

Cantwell's soft-spoken but challenging words energized a generation of laity whose education and work experience had nudged them out of pious tranquillity.

He described the clergy-laity link as "partners in the vineyard." "Liturgy is the service of God, but so is the struggle for social justice," he wrote. "Priests and bishops are called to do Christ's work, but so are lay men and lay women. The sanctuary is a sacred place, but so is every factory, every workshop, every bus station, every cradle, every bed...a living wage is every person's birthright, but so are music, literature, beauty."

Cantwell's writings, including *Commonweal* essays on Chicago's racial strife when the journal cost only fifteen cents, continued to help most of his readers to become more human. Before he experienced John XXIII, he was influenced strongly by Teilhard de Chardin, whose writings he still cites extensively.

With John Cardinal Cody's arrival in Chicago, things began to change. Socially-minded priests like John J. Egan and Cantwell found budgets cut and support staff vanishing. By 1966, both men were named pastors, Cantwell to Saint Clotilde's, a black parish on Chicago's South Side. He served there for fifteen years, writing less but speaking more, especially from the many pulpits of Chicago to congregations that were just discovering him.

In 1981, he moved to West Virginia to be chaplain at the Vineyard, a self-supporting facility for retarded adults. After three years, he returned to Chicago at the invitation of Cardinal Joseph Bernardin and of Jack Wall, the young pastor of Old St.

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Pat's, to whom Dan had given a home during his seminary years while Wall was still trying to decide his vocation. Now officially retired, Cantwell is "senior associate pastor" at Old St. Patrick's.

But Dan Cantwell has found a new generation of people to hear his prophetic thoughts. Young, walk-in worshipers—many don't know his name—often ask who the old priest is. A local TV station came to do a story on the parish and ended up interviewing Cantwell for forty-five minutes. "You have a treasure here," the TV reporter said. Cantwell is cultivating new disciples.

In April, the Chicago church celebrated the anniversary of Monsignor Dan Cantwell's fifty years as a priest. The church was packed with friends who could look back and new friends whom Dan had taught to look forward. The reception—in a nearby union hall—was a model of what a Catholic community can be.

Dan Cantwell loved it. "Dear God," he said. "Did it take fifty years to achieve all this? The hope I have for the future of the church is that people will realize this is God's world. He—or she—is still at work creating it. God is not unhappy with modernity, not unhappy that we have put a man on the moon, that we can no longer tolerate patriarchy in the church or in married life, that we are no longer comfortable with celibacy as the way to God."

"My ministry has, like all of human life, been replete with ambiguity," he reflected. "The correct tactics and methods were not always clear. I am more and more convinced that the secular is sacred, that the service of the non-ordained is every bit as important to God as the service of the ordained. I am more sure Jesus has touched and embraced all of human life, that the Incarnation is reality, not just dogma. My Christian understanding of life has been formed and enriched by wonderful laywomen and men whom I have known. It's been a great life." □

STANDING IN THE WAY OF WORSHIP

LITURGICAL REFORMS STILL NOT TAKEN

PAUL E. DINTER

During the last year—a sabbatical for me to study and write—I have visited various countries in Western Europe. Not being "on assignment" as a priest, I have attended Mass in Ireland, England, France, Switzerland, and Italy. Despite the real differences in language and customs in these countries, I have witnessed a distressing similarity in the widespread neglect of significant reforms that followed the publication of *The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (Sacrosanctum concilium)* twenty-five years ago.

Although the deviations may at first seem slight, their pervasiveness indicates that the reform of the liturgy has failed to accomplish one of its primary goals: to make clear that the Mass, by reason of baptism, is the celebration of the whole body of the church demanding the "full, conscious, and active participation" of all the faithful (*SC*, 14). And, although the failure of the priests to carry out the prescribed changes may be unconscious, it constitutes a genuine clerical abuse of the eucharistic sacrament and points to a problem we have not yet begun to deal with in the church.

The first of the ignored practices is the "offertory procession." Some will argue that this is hardly the worst problem with the liturgy today. For a priest to ignore the principle of ministerial diversity (i.e., do every role himself), abuse or leave out the homily, or fail to preside over the Eucharist prayerfully or with dignity, these are surely more immediate and serious problems than leaving out the offertory procession. But once we examine the reason why the ritual bringing forward by the faithful of the elements of bread and wine is not being done we will discover a basic failure in the understanding of the reform.

Making no distinction between Sunday and weekdays, the Roman Missal accounts the "manner in which the gifts are brought to the altar" among the actions to be "performed with solemnity" (*General Instructions*, 22) and states, as well, that it is "both meaningful and desirable that the faithful should bring up the bread and wine," declaring this a "ritual" that is "still meaningful and of spiritual value" (49).

Yet, contrary to this clear directive, it remains the general practice that priests either approach the altar at the beginning of the liturgy of the word with chalice and paten as of old or, later, they bring the gifts from a credence table with or without the help of servers. In all but one case I witnessed in the past few months, there was no ritual participation of the faithful in the preparation of the gifts, although participation was the principal *motive* for the reform (cf. *SC*, 1, 14). When denied their proper role, the congregation gets a clear message that there are really two religious events taking place in this church: the action of the

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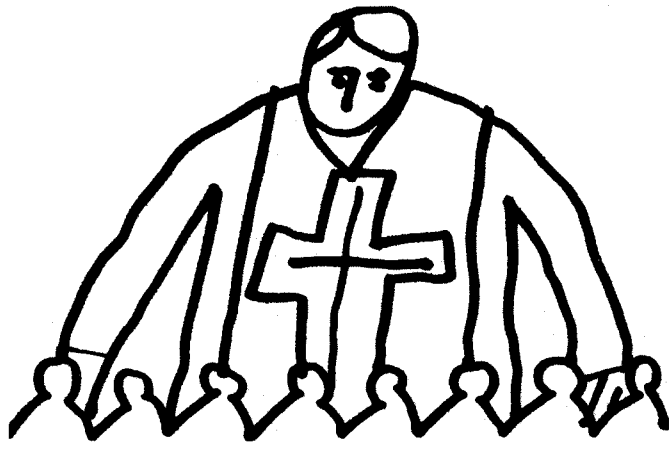
ordained minister(s) and the laity's secondary share in its fruits.

This exclusion of lay participation is again underscored at the time of Communion. The priest at the altar receives "his" host and drinks from "his" chalice and then turns or sends an assisting priest or eucharistic minister to the tabernacle to communicate the faithful from the reserved sacrament. Again, the documents of the reform make it clear that "the more perfect form of participation in the Mass" occurs when the faithful "receive the Lord's Body from the same sacrifice" (*SC*, 55) because "their participation in the sacrifice then and there being celebrated is more visibly manifested" (*Instruction*, 56). However, what is conveyed to an alert laity in these situations is that their participation in this sacred event is secondary. Despite twenty-five years of admonition, instruction, and reformation, earlier practices and earlier presuppositions remain intact.

The model that dominated late-Tridentine eucharistic theology saw the Mass as a sacrifice, but used a particular (and inadequate) understanding of the term. Ignoring the Roman Canon's reference to itself as a sacrifice of praise, common seminary fare adopted an allegorical understanding of the Mass "as the same sacrifice as the sacrifice of the cross." Insisting that for there to be a sacrifice there must be an act of destruction, it saw in the separate consecration of the bread and wine the ritual reenactment of Jesus' death. The priest received the elements of the sacrifice in Communion almost as a spiritual bonus (lay people were not really encouraged to receive regularly until the reform of 1957). In theory, the priest might as easily put the consecrated element (of bread at least) directly in the tabernacle or into the monstrance for adoration because the concrete effect of the sacrifice was the miracle of the Real Presence. There was no need for any active participants other than the priest whose act of sacramental power made Christ present for our adoration or consumption.

While it might be difficult to document this approach in textbooks, it was undoubtedly the dominant mythos of clerical training and has proved to be enduring, not because of its theological cogency, but because of its strong emotional and symbolic appeal to priests. Its strong emphasis on the unique competence of the ordained priest who is empowered to consecrate the bread and wine and bring Christ "down" on our altars fueled generations of vocations talks, but it gave little or no role to the laity in the effecting of the mystery of the Eucharist. The incipient liturgical theology of Pius XII's *Mystici Corporis Christi* in the 1940s was slow to change this view. Today, twenty-five years after the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*'s clarion call for a renewal of our worship life, priests are still acting out of an earlier symbol system, consciously or not.

By contrast, the conciliar and postconciliar reform, basing its premises and its theology on more ancient, communitarian, and authentic traditions of the Eucharist, used a broader model of sacrifice in which the worshipers as a *whole* (granting the instrumentality of the ordained minister) are said to participate in and share communion with God through an "exchange of



gifts." The sacrifice which is offered does not simply bring Christ down on our altars but gives back to God (through the medium of *praise* in the eucharistic prayer) the only "holy and perfect sacrifice" which is none other than "the gift You have given us," i.e., Christ. The entire offering is called an "exchange of gifts" based on analogy with the incarnation itself. For, just as in the texts of the Midnight Mass the birth of Christ is called a "wondrous exchange" (*haec sacrosancta commercia*) of human and divine natures, so in the Prayer over the Gifts in the Christmas liturgy (December 29) the elements of bread and wine are said to be part of a "wonderful exchange" (*commercia gloriosa*). In other texts of the Missal the "sacrifice" is labeled "this exchange of gifts" (Wednesday, Lent II), which exchange is also understood in the Easter liturgy as the basis of our sharing the risen life of Christ.

The rehabilitation of this ancient notion of exchange emphasizes not an act of priestly power or sacramental will, but the double-gift, *both of nature* (the bread and wine) *and of grace* (the Body and Blood of Christ), that the church celebrates and shares in. In addition, it stresses the necessary role of the "bread which earth has given" and the "fruit of the vine" both of which are produced by "human hands" and provided by the "sweat of the brow" of the laity who constitute and support our liturgical assemblies. The Eucharist is not "the sacrament of our salvation" because it suppresses the natural elements of food, but precisely because it "perfects" (or carries their natural meaning through to completion) the bread and wine as spiritual nourishment.

Understood in this way, the *sacrifice* of the Eucharist and the *sacrament* of Communion are identical. Both terms preserve and make prominent the admixture of human and divine elements which constitute the mystery of sacramentality. Similarly, the prominence of the "exchange of gifts" in our reformed order of worship stresses the extent to which the *presentation of bread and wine by the faithful* represents an essential part of their proper role in the ritualization of our participation in Christ's sacrifice "until he comes in glory." Although the priest is understood as acting *in persona Christi*, he presides over the community as a special "member of the community" (*Instruction*, 60) all of whose lay members also give thanks to God and offer the sacrifice "with him" (61). The ritualized action known as the "offertory procession" is thus the "meaningful and

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desirable" way that this offering of the sacrifice is made manifest.

In this new (and largely unrealized) framework of the way priest and congregation act out their respective roles in the liturgical celebration, the priest is contextualized within the fabric of the whole body of the church. While the priest continues to have unique and specific roles within the liturgy, he no longer fulfills Lacordaire's holy card job description, in which the priest entered a figurative Holy of Holies bringing men to God and God to men. His role in the liturgy makes him no holier than others, even formally. It is opposition to this change, more than any other, I believe, that has led to the abuses I described above. Many priests are engaging in a subtle, and largely unconscious, act of resistance to their "demoted" status. They are clearly saying *by their symbolic actions* that they are having a problem defining themselves as "ministers" (i.e., servants) of God and the people rather than as hierophants engaged in unique and supernaturally powerful actions.

Another indication of priests' resistance resides in the companion abuse I noted before: their widespread refusal, contrary to the liturgical norms, to consecrate and distribute sufficient bread for all the communicants. By continuing to follow the outmoded practice of having a "priest's host" (consecrated at each Mass) and "small hosts" (usually reserved in extraordinary numbers in a tabernacle), priests guarantee their special status in another subtly symbolic way. No one who has ever seen a concelebration where plans were made so that each concelebrating priest received both halves of a large host can doubt that the concept of the "priest's host" is alive and well. But the instruction specifies that individual hosts (or "additional small hosts") are a possibility if necessary (*Instruction*, 283) and supplementary to "the larger hosts which are to be broken into smaller parts" (for the congregation no doubt; see *Third Instruction on the Correct Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, 5). But nowhere is there provision for a single, large host (often the only one visible to the congregation) which the priest alone is to consume in its entirety. A large host only fulfills the symbol of the "one Bread" when it is shared by the community gathered for the Eucharist!

These refusals are compounded further by the added reluctance of so many priests to take advantage of the liturgical legislation that allows the frequent sharing of the cup with the congregation. Here, too, we should seek an underlying, unconscious reason for the resistance of priests to carry out the clear command of Jesus to "Take and drink of this, all of you...." At best, arguments against Communion from the chalice based on reasons of inconvenience or concerns for health seem secondary. Rather, it seems that the historical reservation of the chalice to the priest (a reaction at Trent to Protestant criticism) has become another point of clerical privilege that many priests are slow to put aside. What is more, if we take into account the kind of personal attachment clerical culture has promoted between a priest and "his" chalice (sometimes outfitted with the wedding ring of a parent and even buried with a priest), it is possible to conclude that the reluctance of some priests to foster the congregational reception of the chalice lies deep in the subliminal area of clerical emotional symbolism and control.

The liturgical reform was flawed, then, not on the level of its theology (which still represents an untapped resource for many clergy and laity) but on the level of implementation. It failed to anticipate and provide for the shift in symbolic paradigm it called for priests to undergo. This was not the case for bishops who, by and large, emerged from Vatican II with an expanded and independent job description and a symbolic role that was clearly enhanced. But the symbolic role of the priest, complemented (properly, I believe) by that of deacons, extraordinary ministers, lay readers, etc., experienced a diminution of its hyper-sacral character. We are paying the price across the board in the liturgy because priests, no longer secure in their role, grumpily and defensively keep the laity at arm's length, both symbolically and actually.

If this suggestion is correct, I would complement it with a therapeutic suggestion. If the theoretical shift from a paradigm of sacrificial *power* to a paradigm of *exchange of gifts* has occurred in the Eucharist, it seems important for us to find new ways of convincing priests that they are the necessary catalysts of this "wondrous exchange" between God and humanity. They certainly remain "necessary" as ordained ministers through whom the grace of the sacrament is given *ex opere operato*. But their ability to relate the mystery to the "here and now" of their community's life, their enthusiasm to help people discover their own "rights and obligations" as baptized members of the Body of Christ and to act intelligently and enthusiastically upon them, their desire to include the laity rather than exclude them in the celebrational dynamics—all these are the natural means by which the grace of the sacrament is given *ex opere operantis*. But this operation of grace does not depend on an ordained presider alone, but on the whole body of the church worshiping together in a particular time and place.

I do not emphasize the necessary and catalytic role of the priest as another, more subtle, form of clericalism. Indeed, the same principle holds true, to a lesser degree, for the lectors, music ministers, deacons, servers, etc. Priority of place in this task is only taken from the priest by our own brand of low churchpersons, often in reaction to so many years of poor leadership in the liturgy on behalf of the clergy. We do not need less leadership within the worshiping community, we need more and better leadership: the kind that helps all the members of the congregation discover their own natural gifts which, like the bread and wine, are made present so as to be transformed by the "Giver of the gifts we bring" into yet more fruitful gifts with which to build up his body the church.

But the practical changes necessary to accomplish this—to allow priests to surrender their needs for spiritual power and sacramental privileges (often urged as compensations for obligatory celibacy) and to improve their ability to communicate both verbally and symbolically so as to become the actual "ministers" of the sacrament—will require care and encouragement. Spiritual and psychological supports that allow men, often

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trained in a caste mentality (which seems to be back in vogue in seminaries today), to risk being fellow-disciples with the laity would be of great assistance. Make no mistake. Priests have a lot to lose when they shed their protective shells and put aside their special privileges (reduced as these might have lately become). Faith tells us it is of such losses that real gains are made.

Yet the changes will not occur of themselves. It will take a laity unwilling to be excluded from exercising their priestly function at Mass, who are discontent with being mere consumers of the spiritual goods their priests produce and who are willing to undertake "full, conscious, and active participation in liturgical celebrations" (SC, 14). The laity must find the wherewithal to coax their clergy into the collaborative endeavor which the council proclaimed the liturgy to be.

In 1963 everyone underestimated the depth of the changes that postconciliar priests and laity would have to undergo to become real collaborators in the worship life of the church. Twenty-five years later this vital relationship at the heart of Catholic life and worship still needs to be addressed. □

STAGE

BARGAINING FOR LIVES

SOBOL'S 'GHETTO'

Joshua Sobol, the Israeli playwright, has a long list of plays to his credit, but very little of his work has appeared in this country. As it happens, both of the Sobol plays I have seen, *Ghetto* and *Shooting Magda*, are performance-within-performance works in which Sobol deals directly with painful reality and at the same time presents a reflection of that reality through theater. *Shooting Magda*, which had its American première at Philadelphia's Wilma Theater in 1987, puts an attempt to film the story of a young Palestinian woman at the center of its account of the conflict between Jews and Arabs. The production, as often happens at the Wilma, was so heavy with video/audio devices that it was difficult to get any real sense of the play.

There are also problems with the current production of *Ghetto* at the Circle in the Square, although it is generally an effective presentation of a fascinating work. Directed by Gedalia Besser, who did the original production in Haifa in 1984, the play sometimes lacks focus; but that may have been a conscious choice, forcing the audience to find the immediate point of action in a presentation that pretends to walk the line between the real and the theatrical. Similarly, the atmospheric lighting which occasionally obscures the stage may have been thematic in intention.

The main problem for me—more an enrichment than a problem, perhaps—is that I knew the work too well and in a version other than the one being used in New York. The Circle production offers David Lan's translation, which was commissioned by and is currently playing at the National Theatre in London. I had read the play in the Elinor Fuchs collection, *Plays of the Holocaust*, in an adaptation by Jack Viertel, first performed at the Mark Taper in Los Angeles in 1986. If you want to juggle three Sobols at once, which might not be a bad thing to do, there is still another English version, by Miriam Shlesinger. Anyone who does not have Hebrew may not be able to sort out the real Sobol work, but playing with various versions contributes to the ambiguity that the play demands.

The subtitle of *Ghetto* in the Circle program is "The Last Performance in the Vilna Ghetto." It is a memory play, and not simply in the sense of remembering what the Passover Holocaust services embody. The play is a survivor's recollection of those days (1942-43) after the massive genocidal murders in Vilna when the remaining Jews are shut up in the ghetto, trying to stay alive—physically, spiritually, culturally. Since Srulik, from whose mind the play emerges, is an old man, an almost unwilling witness, his "is a mixture of factual and imaginative memory," as Sobol says in a program note. A puppeteer, who to his surprise became artistic director of the ghetto theater, Srulik recalls ghetto life and the theater in a way that lets the actors move from character to caricature, from scenes to sketches, from speech to song. In the destructive final moments of the play, Srulik loses his arm, his friends, his theater and, perhaps as important, his dummy, through whose mouth he is capable of the courage he never expresses directly. The dummy is customarily performed by a live actor (here, effectively, by Gordon Joseph Weiss), but if a real ventriloquist with a real dummy played Srulik, there might be an electrifying final moment when the dummy is shot and bleeds from the mouth.

The main characters in the play are based on actual inhabitants of the Vilna ghetto, but the play depends on their viability not their historical truth. The central figure is (or ought to be) Gens, the head of the ghetto who works with the Nazis, maneuvering to save some Jews by sacrificing others. His ideational opposite is the librarian Kruk—idealist to Gens's pragmatist—whose diary serves as a narrative bridge for Sobol. It is Gens who insists on the formation of the theater, and Kruk, who at first opposes him ("No theater in a graveyard"), finally recognizes that the theater is a defense against total destruction of the Jewish soul. Kruk, as written and as played, is a bland figure, no match for Gens. Gens's other opponent—Kittel, the S.S. man—is more formidable. For one thing, Kittel—with saxophone in one hand, machine gun in the other—is one of the most vivid characters on stage, an evil figure who, particularly as Stephen McHattie plays him, suggests the nasty, art-loving Nazi of wartime movies. Gens makes no attempt to ingratiate himself with Kittel, but when he bargains with the Nazi for Jewish lives, the act of bargaining and Kittel's response to it brand him as the collaborator, the Jew-killer whom Kruk and the others see in him. In Viertel's version of the play, Gens's big apology speeches grow out of the bottle; his drunkenness suggests a vulnerability and self-doubt that never surface in the Circle production. George Hearn's Gens is too cold, too carefully separated from his people, and although his defense of his behavior has force, he never becomes the suffering center of the

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play as I suspect he should.

The other main character—at least, in the Circle production—is Weiskopf, the tailor who becomes a ghetto tycoon. In Robert Skloot's discussion of the play in his important book on Holocaust drama, *The Darkness We Carry*, Skloot does no more than mention Weiskopf, describing him parenthetically as a "Jewish profiteer." Elinor Fuchs completely ignores Weiskopf in her introductory remarks, and I confess I paid minimal attention to him when I first read the play. On stage, he cannot be ignored—partly because of the flamboyance with which Donal Donnelly plays him. There is more to it than that, however. He is central to a major theme of the play—more important even than the theater as a life-in-death image, although Sobol may not think so—for he is a prime instance of a man's becoming what he does. His uniform-repairing business begins as a way of surviving, for the ghetto workers as well as himself, but he ends by narrowly calculating the costs, forgetting that in his circumstances to cut corners is to cut lives.

Kruk and Srulik figure in this context, too. Kruk, as a scholar of Jewish culture, becomes an ally of Dr. Paul, the archivist of Judaism without Jews, and Srulik is so identified with his dummy that he can be said to have died with him. Yet, it is Gens that carries the burden of this theme. He becomes as authoritarian and aggressive as his position demands, seeming to borrow from the Germans he is fighting. In an interview in the *New York Times* (April 30), Sobol indicates that there was a message to the original Israeli audience which the American audience might not hear. Echoing one of Kruk's speeches, Sobol says that "there is one stage from humanism to nationalism to bestiality." Sobol wants, as he says, "to capture these voices from the past, which otherwise would vanish," to make a vital metaphor of the Vilna Ghetto theater. But he also wants to send a warning to his countrymen which may be even more important to Israel today than it was when the play was written during the war in Lebanon. Despite Sobol's doubts, the theme is not hard for an American audience to grasp. After all, it is not unknown in this part of the globe for defense to turn into rationalization and for doing to become being. *(Closed at the Circle in the Square, May 28.)*

GERALD WEALES

SCREEN

GENES, LOST & FOUND

'SCANDAL' & 'POETS SOCIETY'

Scandal tells the story of the Profumo case, but from a limited point of view. For its original English audience, telling the story may have been enough, especially given the film's new viewpoint. *Scandal* takes as its first center Dr. Stephen Ward (John Hurt), who introduced the infamous Christine Keeler (Joanna Whalley-Kilmer) to John Profumo, England's Defense Minister (Ian McKellan). The eventual result of their dangerous liaison was a *Scandal* that led to the fall of the Tories who had held power since the late forties. Incidentally, Keeler had been bedding both Profumo and a Russian diplomat. English tabloids, naturally, had a field day. But the film focuses less on the political consequences than on the personal ones, and much less for Profumo than for Keeler and Ward.

Although *Scandal* treats Ward as a scapegoat, Hurt doesn't make him attractive; he walks a fine line between being repulsive, understandable, and at last pitiable as he becomes *Scandal*'s fall guy. He had lived, to be sure, an odd, immoral life, partying with establishment playboys, looking out for young girls to introduce them to, but never pursuing the women himself, pushing them to sell themselves, or living off the profits. When the scandal broke, Profumo resigned, and went into charity work; to satisfy media cries for blood, Ward was tried for pandering.

Hurt clearly shows how Ward was governed by sick but nonmercenary motives: a class-based hunger to be liked by bigwigs and an epicurean but nonerotic pleasure in women. The saddest thing in *Scandal* is Ward's lack of love for Keeler, whom he genuinely liked. Nothing suggests he was homosexual. He calls Keeler a "thoroughbred" and "Derby winner" but, as played depressingly well by Hurt, Ward stays detached, a circus master with a gene missing.

The film's focus of sympathy thus shifts to Keeler. As played by Whalley-Kilmer, she is certainly an amoral, lushly beautiful free spirit; her large oval eyes suggest depth behind the façade. Her best moment occurs when, tired by the decadence of dirty old men, she tells Ward that she's young, wants to have fun with a man young at heart like her, and goes out to find one—a move that brings "scandal" into the open. Ironically, the film implies, one real caress from Ward, and Keeler would have gladly settled down as the doctor's wife. To a degree, *Scandal* becomes another of many recent films about strong women in need of love being failed by inadequate, unloving men.

Keeler's complement is Mandy Rice-Davies (Bridget Fonda, Peter Fonda's daughter). Always the pragmatist, Rice-Davies lands on her feet after the scandal and brightens Ward's trial with frank, no-nonsense answers about sexual romps at the doctor's house. As a result, the tabloids loved her, and kept her famous afterward as a model and "celebrity," status on which she has built a successful business career. Profumo is back in society if not government; but Keeler now lives in poverty in London. Ward killed himself (the film's climax) at his trial's end.

Fonda catches Rice-Davies' devil-may-care buoyancy, but at times the screenplay calls on her to ham it up too much. When she and Whalley-Kilmer dress for a naughty night out, director Michael Caton-Jones uses Western-style music to echo mockingly the routine of marshals putting on six-guns before shootouts. That, and a slow-motion bit near the end, are overdone. It may be that he sensed the film itself had a missing gene. But such gestures weren't the way to finding it.

Scandal, naturally, is very graphic about sex, with enough orgiastic imagery to have almost earned it an X rating. Recut to

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R, it leaves one hard put to imagine what could have been left out. Curiously but aptly, its images are not genuinely arousing; the sex is cold, mechanical, and, like Ward, not really erotic. The Victorians believed in love without sex; *Scandal* depicts sex without eros. Caton-Jones catches the emptiness of such pursuits, but is too limited by his original choices to offer much satire about it.

Despite some good moments and colorful looks, the film has a cold, almost documentary feel. It continually interests, even engages, but it fails to resonate with anything universal.

Dead Poets Society stars Robin Williams, acting more subtly than ever before. He plays an English teacher at a boys' prep school in 1959; his infectious devotion to literature inspires his students with a love of real learning. Williams and this ensemble of young actors are thrilling together during the film's first half. Only when formulas take over does the movie go soggy.

Still, the set-up makes *Dead Poets* worth seeing. Two scenes are excellent, one in front of a trophy case, and one during the first class, where Williams tells his students to tear out the preface to a poetry textbook. In these and other scenes, Williams puts his manic, muscle-mouth energy into low gear, placing his verbal acuity entirely at the service of literature. The film isn't a star vehicle; but paradoxically, Williams becomes more of a star by taking second place to the English language. Thoreau, Whitman, Byron—he brings them alive for his students (and movies) again by underplaying his own power.

Of course, all his favorite poets are romantics; the film's melodrama derives from this. And the romanticism works—with references to jazz, the beat generation, the coming '60s deluge—as a partly successful satire on realism. Blunting the satirical edge are soap opera conventions common to school films: overdone teenage rebellion, adult insensitivity, crises, tragedy, and final bittersweet triumph. A plot line is also left hanging, perhaps a result of poor editing, but probably a sign of filmmakers wanting to do more with character than formulas allow.

Dead Poets is directed by the transplanted Australian Peter Weir, whose previous mainstream works (*Witness* and *The Year of Living Dangerously*) also attempt to match conventional plots with unusual settings and the texture of real experiences. *Dead Poets* displays Weir's gift for landscape. The preppy setting itself isn't as alive as his Amish country in *Witness* or Indonesia in *The Year*; it looks too much like Ralph Lauren Land. But in several sequences off-campus, Weir uses landscape evokingly; some cave scenes recall the haunting (and haunted) power of his glorious, low-budget *Picnic at Hanging Rock*. Indeed, Weir's skill at spooky effects even redeems the tragic sequence near the end.

Despite faults, I welcome *Dead Poets Society* after too many years of teachers being trashed in film (see *Commonweal* April 21). Perhaps films don't affect images of teachers that much; but lack of glamour certainly hasn't helped their status recently. In the last year, *Stand and Deliver*, *Lean on Me*, and *Dead Poets Society* mark a shift in image. Robin Williams might get an Oscar nomination for his work here; but when will someone create a Pulitzer or Nobel for the kind of teaching that he embodies?

TOM O'BRIEN

Escape from summer inanity

Television as an escape from the inanity of summer sequels? PBS is trying with P.O.V.—"Point of View"—a documentary series to begin in July that reflects life's confusions and ambiguites in a way American movies seldom do.

The series title is key: the programs have a point of view. They are partisan, leave things out, and eschew the even-handedness that normally governs (or deadens) TV news. Two episodes are especially compelling: "Who Killed Vincent Chin?" (to be broadcast the week of July 16) and "The Fighting Ministers" (week of September 3; consult local PBS listings).

The first film recounts the brutal, baseball-bat killing of a young Chinese-American man in Detroit in 1983, after a racial incident in which some autoworkers mistook him for Japanese—hence, their immediate hostility to an apparent industrial rival. The killing led to an involved legal case—artfully recreated here without a narrator—that ended in no one doing time. The film shows the raw emotions of a tough slice of American life.

"The Fighting Ministers" covers the Lutheran priests who mounted activist protest campaigns during Pittsburgh steel mill closings in the mid-eighties. Together with unemployed workers, the ministers tried to pressure the Mellon Bank, which had withdrawn investment in domestic steel. The Lutheran Synod defrocked one of the ministers and censured others; its reasoning is not fully explained—a lapse the P.O.V. director should have given a church representative more opportunity to explain. Nevertheless, it is hard not to sympathize with the ministers, especially the young, innocent-looking wife of one, who is drawn into the controversy. "Do I look like the arrestable type?" she asks, incredulously, after being charged with disorderly conduct. What is most attractive is her reluctance to barge ahead without moral self-examination; about the best moment in the film is her question to someone planning a protest at a Mass, "But where in Scripture does Christ disrupt a worship service?"

P.O.V. may not convince everyone about the rights and wrongs of each case they portray, but here is some grist for summer thinking.

T.O'B.

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Down the primrose path

A MOTHER'S STORY
Mary Beth Whitehead
With Loretta Schwartz Nobel
St. Martin's Press, $17.95, 220 pp.

SURROGATE MOTHERHOOD
The Ethics of Using Human Beings
Thomas A. Shannon
Crossroad, $17.95, 191 pp.

RECREATING MOTHERHOOD
Ideology and Technology in a Patriarchal Society
Barbara Katz Rothman
W.W. Norton & Company, $18.95, 282 pp.

Eileen P. Flynn

A *Mother's Story* tells of a different kind of triangle, one made up of two naive parents and one savvy entrepreneur. Mary Beth Whitehead thought that she could do a good deed for a nice couple by giving them a little baby; William Stern thought that he could make his wish come true by arranging to secure a child grown from his seed. The broker who brought these folks together was Noel Keane, an enterprising attorney who concocted a plan to take advantage of the market created by the desires of infertile people. The private contractual agreement of Whitehead and Stern began with sentiments of altruism on her part and gratitude on his. It concluded with an animosity and bitterness witnessed by all the world in a court case that revealed profound differences of opinion as to what constituted the best interests of their child.

Whitehead's story, while heartrending, is presented in a biased way. It tells us much about the experience of being a surrogate, but it is not self-critical or balanced enough to convince us that the author is telling the whole truth.

Given the possibilities of reproductive technology and the apparent willingness of brokers to contract just about any kind of baby-making arrangement, tragic messes similar to the Baby M. case may be repeated with increasing frequency in the years ahead. Should society stand aimlessly by, or should society impose limits on the implementation of noncoital reproductive schemes? And, in the subjectivistic, relativistic, pluralistic society of the U.S., in which the predominant cultural bias of patriarchy is being challenged by an ever more coherent feminist critique, how can we decide what assumptions should prevail as the underlayer of our sociopolitical response?

In *Surrogate Motherhood*, Thomas A. Shannon presents a convincing moral analysis of why society should not endorse surrogacy contracts. Shannon, a professor of religion and social ethics at Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Massachusetts and a respected Roman Catholic ethicist, crafts his argument without a single citation from Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, or Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger. In view of the fact that the 1987 statement on reproductive morality issued by the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith managed to develop its case without engaging any moral scholarship not contained in hierarchical teaching, I was impressed to watch Shannon build his argument through a critical analysis of contemporary culture and a creative engagement with commonly held ethical wisdom.

The most enlightening aspect of Shannon's cultural analysis is his examination of how pronatalism affects women. In our society many women feel that they are incomplete and deficient if they are not mothers; society almost seems to coerce women into becoming mothers to achieve an identity. It was the coercive force of pronatalism that caused Mary Beth Whitehead to think that conceiving, bearing, and birthing William Stern's child would make her a happier, more integrated woman. Perhaps pronatalism was also the force that prompted Elizabeth Stern to agree to her husband's unorthodox scheme.

Why does Thomas Shannon think that society should pass legislation not merely regulating but banning surrogacy? Surrogacy contracts are not just private arrangements; they have social components as well: the well-being of the vulnerable child so produced, and that of all the blood-, adoptive-, and near-relatives (for example, Richard Whitehead and the Whiteheads' two children) of that child. Surrogates agreeing to bear a child for a fee can be looked upon as reproductive prostitutes who are expected to be alienated from the life they carry in order to be emotionally capable of surrendering it at birth. Reproductive prostitution is profoundly degrading to women.

Enter Barbara Katz Rothman, author of *Recreating Motherhood*, with a wide-ranging feminist critique of the traditional role played by women vis à vis motherhood. A professor of sociology at Baruch College in New York City and a mother of two, Katz Rothman in her book includes one of the most touching accounts of women's experiences of pregnancy that I have encountered. But I listened to her defense of abortion as a woman's right with discomfort laced with incredulity: "abortion, like pregnancy itself, takes its meaning from the woman in whose body the pregnancy is unfolding." A woman at one time may be willing to make the lifetime commitment required to nurture the child in her womb, and at another time she may not.

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Being an ethicist and a mother of four, I recognize no such arbitrary right to deny life to another and acknowledge, instead, an obligation to respect and safeguard nascent life. Okay, so Katz Rothman touched a raw nerve in me with her relativism and subjectivism. That does not mean I am willing to dismiss her entire analysis of mothers and motherhood.

Barbara Katz Rothman presents a perceptive analysis of how technology, capitalism, and patriarchy function in society to undermine the dignity of women, especially of mothers. Katz Rothman objects to surrogacy because she thinks women are entitled to exercise full parental rights over the children they bear; what a woman endures when pregnant, her contribution to the child in her womb, clearly counts for far more than a genetic father's sperm.

Katz Rothman deplores the exploitation of women and the commodification of children, both of whom are purchased for a price in surrogacy arrangements. She prefers to see children thought of as persons in relationship to parents and others who respond to their needs for "preference, specialness, daily love."

Mary Beth Whitehead learned the hard way. If her heartbreak is not to be in vain, society must set limits to surrogacy arrangements. It will be much easier for society to hear and evaluate the commonsense case against surrogacy made by Thomas Shannon than the subtle, and sometimes flawed, feminist critique presented by Barbara Katz Rothman. However, if society is going to do its job well, it is imperative that it take a critical look at the surrogacy issue, at what men do to women when they ask them to "incubate a child grown from their seed." □

THE SEED OF REDEMPTION

THE COMING OF THE COSMIC CHRIST
The Healing of Mother Earth
and the Birth of a Global Renaissance
Matthew Fox
Harper & Row, $14.95, 278 pp.

William M. Thompson

Here is a passionate invitation to reverse the matricidal wounding of the earth through revitalizing our reverence for the cosmos and (re)learning the great skills necessary for a harmonious existence. What is required, thinks Fox, is a viable cosmology (creation-centered spirituality), integrating science, mysticism, and art. Fox's emphasis here is decidedly on the mystical component. He believes a "Cosmic Christ Mysticism" is the key to a viable cosmology for the world today and he explores in particular the "harmonizing" nature of the term "Christ." Derived from the Greek *christos*, the "anointed," the term can refer to oil, the element which keeps machines running smoothly. The "Cosmic Christ" is "The Oil" of the universe, overcoming the friction of ecological matricide through harmonizing the mystical, the scientific, and the artistic. And since it is the mystic whose body is most massaged by that oil, Fox concentrates his efforts here. Using a favored image (one likely to hurt as much as help), Fox writes that the "mystic" swims in "wet love."

Part I describes the earth's "matricide." It is the book's shortest section, which may be wise since too much apocalypticism can cripple rather than energize. But readers need to be persuaded of the earth's predicament, and to do this requires that Fox give a greater sampling of the range of opinions than is present here. In light of his other writings, it is more than interesting that this "*cosmologie foxique*" begins with matricide, rather than with his theme of "original blessing." Fox seems to admit here that in our experience we begin with a "mixed bag" of good and evil (intuiting the superiority of the former). We struggle through to a thematization of our deep-down, more basic goodness, which leads us to believe that "originally" we were created simply good. This is not so different from the Augustinian Fall/Redemption thinking that Fox seems to dislike so much (and terribly misunderstands).

Despite its transitional nature, Part II's treatment of mysticism makes it the key to the book. The reader must decide whether defining mysticism as "primarily...our entering the fullness of the mystery of our existence, the gift and blessing of creation itself" will really do. Fox tends excessively to accent the "God who reveals" at the expense of the "God who is more than revelation." Carl McColman has noted this emphasis in his review in *The St. Luke's Journal of Theology*, where he speaks of Fox blurring the distinction between the Creator and the Creator's effects, which may be the most dangerous of idolatries. I think McColman means that there's a way of using God-language which blinds us to our own, more hidden idolatry. Significantly, this kind of idolatry is missing from Fox's list of matricidal "sins."

I tend to agree with McColman's critique. The notion of adoration (reserved for God alone) is basically absent in *The Coming of the Cosmic Christ*. Fox writes beautifully about reverence and praise, but primarily these are tendered toward the Creator's effects, and in them, the Creator. Accordingly, "meditation" is largely identified with clay work, painting, massage, and ritual. Again, the afterlife—the more than this worldness of it all—seems missing (the tradition's "cosmos" is larger here than Fox's). Without explanatory comment, Fox approvingly cites a letter from a five-year-old describing the difference between the "four kinds of beans—green beans, pork and beans, jelly beans, and human beings." Humans are different and special because, while they eat the first three types of beans, "God eats human beings." Consequently, we live in God's belly, which is the whole earth. Is that all God's belly is? If so, then we're not much different from all those other beans.

There are some finely written passages in the later sections of the book (Parts III to V). Fox believes that theologians and others have been too influenced by the

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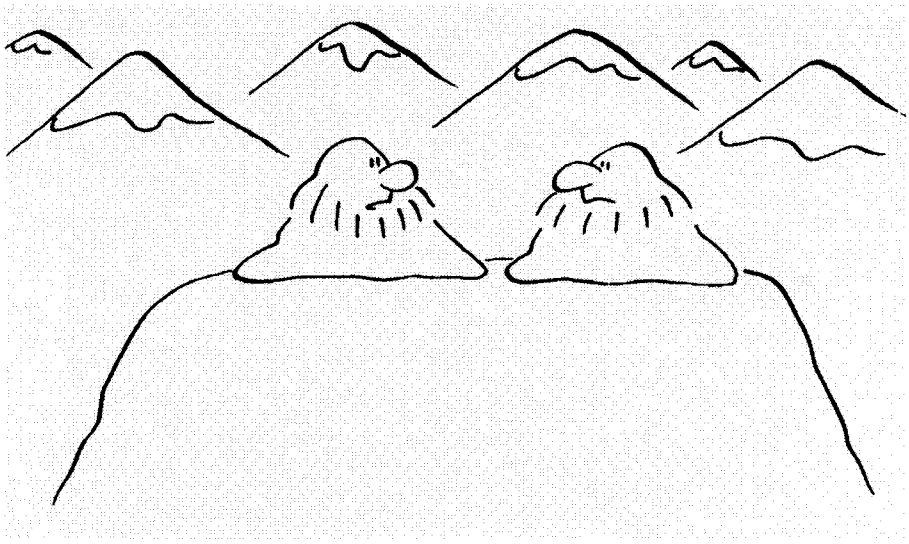

"Actually, enlightenment wasn't my first career choice. I started out as an air-traffic controller."

Enlightenment's rationalism, as illustrated by the tomes devoted to searching for the historical Jesus, ignoring the Cosmic Christ as well as the mystical traditions that tend to be the carriers of that Cosmic Christ tradition. He calls for a balance between the historical and the cosmic, mind and heart, individual and cosmos, but wants to concentrate on the latter elements of these pairs. I found particularly stimulating his treatment of the largely forgotten cosmological motifs in the Gospels, his analysis of the Song of Songs, and his retrieving of the "child-motif" in theology. We can always dispute particulars, but Fox has a real sensitivity to matter, sexuality, play, and the arts as a "craft" of the "folk" rather than the elite. His understanding of "science" remains terribly vague: Newtonianism is said to foster mechanistic fragmentation; Einstein's sense of "mystery" attracts Fox.

As Fox blurs the "God beyond revelation" and the "God of revelation," so we come upon a blurring of the *Logos in se* and the *Logos* imaged in the cosmos. Understanding the inner trinitarian Logos as the "cosmic glue" is not adequate theologically. Granted, Fox is trying to correct what he views as the excessive individualism and anticosmological bias of the recent West. But I doubt whether this can be done effectively by a kind of quick return to prepersonalistic modes of thinking (archaic or other—which isn't to say that we cannot learn much from these). Settling for the cosmic glue description runs the danger of deriving the Logos' worth from its contribution to us.

Fox's view of the Logos as our common glue makes possible a "deep ecumenism." I agree with Fox on this, and that in this respect all of us are "Logos-bearers." But the Logos is a nonmanipulable and transcendent "More," and insofar as that is so, we Christians believe that the radically unique and unsurpassable (because finally nonmanipulable) can happen and has happened—which is what we point to in Jesus. Here I would strongly recommend Walter Kasper's writings on the notion of the "personal" (in the Trinity especially) as signifying nonmanipulation. Finally, I think, it is that reality of nonmanipulability which guarantees a true future and harmony for us all. Yet it guarantees this in a nonutopian manner, leaving open precisely how this created cosmos will share in that eternal future, all the while fostering a genuine respect for this universe. Not enough of this nonmanipulable (by us) Logos shines through in Fox. I find in the mystics he loves to cite a far greater awareness of this "nonmanipulable More." Yes, God is our Creator and our "womb." But for the great Christian tradition, God is even more than our Creator and our womb. Meister Eckhart, the mystic Fox loves so much, was pointing to this in his distinction between the "Godhead" ("the womb beyond our womb") and "God" ("our womb"). □

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WHAT RIGHTS DOES A SEAGULL HAVE?

THE RIGHTS OF NATURE
A History of Environmental Ethics
Roderick Frazier Nash
University of Wisconsin Press, $27.50, 320 pp.

Mary Midgley

This is rather a stupid book, but all the more instructive for that. It treats the vast problem of how to forge concepts that can make us treat the nonhuman world decently. Roderick Frazier Nash believes that what is needed to complete this transformation is but one more repetition of a step that American culture well understands—namely, the extension of civil rights to a wider constituency. Nash sees two great landmarks so far in the process—the Declaration of Independence and the abolition of slavery. From these he believes there is a process already at work today, carried by its own momentum and demanding little change of direction, that will lead to an adequate recognition by society of rights for nonhuman nature.

Now if this myth succeeds—if people can actually use it—then it must of course be welcomed, because the wider environmental cause is going to need every source of support that it can possibly get. But incoherence beyond a certain point is a drawback even for myths, and this one shows serious signs of strain. The trouble is that the notion of rights—and the whole social contract model that underlies it—is expressed in intensely individualistic terms. Enlightenment thinkers and politicians deliberately reduced moral talk to these terms because they were countering the political oppression of individuals, and were trying to recruit these oppressed people to make decisions for themselves. Accordingly, they displayed the whole of morality—not just its political aspect—as a deliberate, optional bargain, arrived at by free contracting parties (male of course), each acting out of enlightened self-interest. In this context, "rights" is a legal term, describing the privileges of each contractor. It is a competitive, confrontational term (they have rights against one another), not a term which helps at all to arbitrate these clashes. It is a forensic term; the law supposes them all to be capable of defending their rights in court, and has to fall back on legal fictions when infants or imbeciles do so "through" an advocate.

Altogether, the systematic reduction of all morality to "rights" was a fiercely deliberate narrowing of the moral horizon for political purposes. It carried still further the anthropocentric narrowing that monotheism, working on Greek humanism, had already achieved. The church had largely removed nature from the official moral stage. The Enlightenment not only removed God as well, but tended to narrow the morally relevant functions of human beings, centering on various forms of highly rational competition, notably voting and litigation. This narrowing occurred all over the Western world, and it has gradually been seen to call for a great deal of corrective emphasis, involving the use of a much wider tool kit of moral concepts. Nothing forces us to go on living in the Enlightenment; we can learn from it and pass on. In the United States, however, the Enlightenment's legacy remains deeply entrenched, forming a background not easily shifted. The mere success of the American Revolution and the absence of competing hierarchical traditions left plenty of space for it, and the absolute need to build new and appropriate lofty ideals into the new way of life caused this language to take on a sacredness of its own.

That is why, it seems to me, Americans continually insist on bringing the term "rights," with all its attendant difficulties, into controversies that most of us would think are already thorny enough without it. I think this is why, for instance, Tom Regan (*Earthbound*, 1984) is not content with arguing admirably for better treatment of animals, but has to use the word "rights" for them, and then go to the extra trouble of splitting off all its habitual links with things like rationality, speech, and citizenship. In such cases, the word strikes me (and other similarly-engaged British philosophers such as Stephen Clark) as an intrusive fifth wheel, supplying animal-abusers with welcome ammunition and multiplying confusion, because for most kinds of animals nobody has the faintest notion about how we could actually use the idea. What, exactly, are the rights possessed by an individual rat or seagull?

At this point, abstractions such as species or populations begin to be invoked. But some animal rights campaigners become indignant because they see that the crusade has changed direction. Friction between different kinds of environmental campaigners has accordingly wasted a great deal of energy on this point, energy which might not have been lost had they realized from the start that what they were engaged in was not a simple,

"Just hand over the skin, and there won't be any trouble."

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single issue—certainly not just a standard continuation of the "American way of politics"—but a quite new, complex, and many-stranded enterprise, one requiring adequate new ideas. It is one thing to be concerned about individual seagulls, another to be concerned about the species; and these different kinds of concerns need to be expressed in different conceptual schemes. For the first, certain aspects of humane individualism will indeed serve, which was what made Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation* (1977) so successful. For the second, we are much shorter on ideas, but are building them up busily out of various aspects of the religious traditions we had so carefully ditched, together with the modern science of ecology—itself owing a great deal to that rejected and despised ancestress, Victorian natural history. And there is much more awareness than there was a little time ago that these concerns are complementary—that all can work together.

This book is not much help for that process, though it documents some recent aspects of the disagreement. In fact, Nash's attitude toward the need for conciliation is remarkably offhand; he seems, if anything, rather to welcome the idea of having another civil war on the issue. For the larger historical and philosophical job that the book's title suggests, it is not really a starter at all. Fortunately, however, that job was done over a decade ago by John Passmore in *Man's Responsibility for Nature* (1978), in a style and with a depth that make that book still a profoundly reliable handbook for our terrible and confusing journey. □

DOCUMENTING HELL

SHOOTING WAR
Photography and the American Experience of Combat
Susan D. Moeller
Basic Books, $25.95, 520 pp.

Dennis O'Brien

Is "one picture worth a thousand words"? Susan Moeller's comprehensive study of the photographic record of five recent American wars inadvertently proves and disproves the claim.

Shooting Wars recounts at length the role of American photojournalism from the Spanish-American War through the Vietnam conflict. The basic story is intriguing and Ms. Moeller has researched everything from the focal length of lenses to the attitudes of combat photographers, their editors, and publishers. Her theme is that the photographic depictions created (by choice or chance) a specific value image for each conflict. Thus was public attitude shaped or enhanced. A photo montage of stalwart young faces from World War I appears above the inscription *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori:* it is pleasant and proper to die for one's country. In the Vietnam War, Nick Ut's photo of a naked girl fleeing a napalm attack suggests that there is nothing pleasant or proper about war—and who was dying for whose country anyhow?

Moeller's subject is fascinating, her thesis is basically correct, and she has executed the work fastidiously. Nevertheless, the respective worth of words and pictures remains a problem. First of all, the book itself is poorly balanced in its own weight of pictures and text. There are sixty pictures reproduced at small scale and 412 pages of text. One longs for a history of war photography with *photographs*. The scanty reproduction of the basic data is particularly striking because Moeller does so well in analyzing the impact of magazine layout and the introduction of color photography in the Vietnam War. None of the photos are seen as they would have been presented by *Life* or *Look* in their original size, layout, or color. Thus, a powerful large color photo by Catherine Leroy from the end of the Vietnam period becomes a small, unrecognizable, black and white smudge.

If one laments the economics of publishing that crimped the pictures, I am also inclined to fault the author for disbalancing her own text. Moeller has a straightforward method of attack for each period. First one gets a sketch of the political mood of the war: jingoism, the war to end all wars, police action, etc. Then there is a general account of the journalistic situation for that war (written and photographic): how much censorship, what was the extent of coverage. Finally, one comes to the photographic situation.

Moeller properly details the importance of certain technical aspects in determining the nature of the image. When J.C. Hemment took twelve by twenty glass plate negatives in the Spanish-American conflict the images had to be more "artistic" than Larry Burrows's "snaps" with a motor-driven 35-millimeter Nikon in Vietnam. For the later wars we get brief accounts of technical photography such as aerial reconnaissance. There are long and interesting sections from the diaries and reminiscences of combat photographers. Finally, there is what Moeller calls "the aesthetics" in which the basic theme of the book is addressed: how do these images create an attitude toward the war?

My judgment is that there is either too much or too little general history of the wars and their respective journalistic possibilities. While these are inherently interesting subjects, the principal interest presumably is the aesthetics of the images. My uneasiness on the balance of text is all the more acute because of the heavy "revisionist" flavor of the historical account. This is a history of war and its photography that could only have been written *after* the Vietnam War. More extensive treatment of the earlier conflicts would lead to a more complex judgment about both public mood and political events than Moeller suggests. Underlying all Moeller's historical detail about the different conflicts is the single thesis stated in an even earlier American bloodletting: War is hell. With such a great truth in mind, historical detailing is rather irrelevant. Any and all wars are hellish.

It is not until the "amateur" photography of the new journalism of Vietnam

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days that war is revealed in all its unfocused horror. Some of the photographs that Moeller most admires were taken by journalists who had never handled a camera until they came to Saigon. Skilled professionals like David Douglas Duncan, whose work in Korea Moeller applauds, fade in her eyes as recorders of Vietnam. The images created in previous wars turn out to be fraudulent either by government design or photographic self-consciousness.

What is the final worth/reality of an Ektachrome version of hell? Moeller begins her book with a quotation from T.S. Eliot that makes an ironic comment on the still photographer's product:

> At the still point of the turning world.
> Neither flesh nor fleshless;
> The resolution of its partial horror.
> Yet the enchantment of past and future...
> Protects mankind from heaven and damnation
> Which flesh cannot endure.

Just so. A photograph is a sort of "resolution" of the partial horror which protects the viewer from damnation. Does the "best" picture give us the reality of the hell of war? Hardly. First there is what World War II photographer George Rodger called "the disappointing sameness of it all." There is the boredom of endless waiting; there is the murky sameness of shellholes and attack and the wounded trooping to the rear. Each photograph lifts the long drag or dramatic compression of war into a timeless moment. A photograph of war stops an action which seems both infernal and eternal. And there is the rest of war: the odors, the noise, the cold at the Changjin reservoir. The written word is at least temporal and it can note if not reproduce the sounds and smells of the event.

Susan Moeller's thesis is that early photographs distorted the terrible reality of war—there is truth in that view. But even the most powerful photograph creates a beauty and decorum that finally distorts the truth of war: that flesh cannot endure. □

REVIEWERS

EILEEN P. FLYNN *is an associate professor at Saint Peter's College, Jersey City, N. J. Dr. Flynn's most recent book, co-authored with Gloria Thomas, is* Living Faith: An Introduction to Theology *(Sheed & Ward, 1989).*

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MARY MIDGLEY, *a philosopher, is the author of* Beast and Man *and* Wickedness; *her latest book is* Wisdom, Information and Wonder: What is Knowledge For? *(Routledge, 1989).*

DENNIS O'BRIEN *is president of the University of Rochester. His most recent book is* God and the New Haven Railway *(Beacon).*

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Experience & the claims of faith

Lawrence S. Cunningham

John Hardon's roadmap for a lifetime of Catholic reading begins with a core: the Bible, the Roman Catechism, the documents of Vatican II, and a subscription to *L'Osservatore Romano*! There then follow 104 potted biographies (cum homilies) of persons from the apostolic fathers to the writers of the late 1950s. To say that the list (and the editorial comments) are eccentrically reactionary would be to put it mildly. Thus, his modern theologian of choice is the late, Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange. But no entries are to be found on the luminaries Garrigou-Lagrange not so genially persecuted over the years: Chenu, Congar, de Lubac, etc. For Scripture scholars, Hardon suggests writers such as Ferdinand Prat, Giuseppe Ricciotti, and M.J. Lagrange, whose works are not even in print.

Apart from Catholic trivia buffs (Can you name one book by Katherine Burton? Who was Archbishop Goodier?), I think only the more assiduous readers of the *Wanderer* would find this work palatable. The more interesting question is why a respectable house like Doubleday would issue a work this odd. Is there really an audience out there that needs to read a translation of Adolph Tanquerey's dogmatic theology? Or are the editors so genially ignorant of Catholicism that they fail to recognize a bad book when they see one? I suspect even Ignatius Press (which is reprinting some very good older classics) would quail at this reading plan.

The Catholic Lifetime Reading Plan, *by John A. Hardon, S.J., Doubleday, $29.95, 291 pp.*

Like Molière's character who discovered that he spoke prose all his life, I discovered, on reading Michael Novak, that I always believed in the common good (the commonweal) but didn't know it. More to the point, Novak has shown me that the concept of the common good is a very complex one (his appendix on terminology is excellent) that engages political philosophy on the spectrum from libertarian to Marxist. He makes the very sane point that in the name of a putative common good the right of an individual can be crushed while the unbridled atomism of extreme libertarianism in rejecting the common good can erode the civility of the polis. Novak's goal is to speak corrective words both to the statist and the individualist by mounting a cogent argument for the concept of the common good. In this enterprise he brings to bear synthetically both the resources of classical Catholic social theory and the thought of the liberal tradition identified with *The Federalist Papers* and its progeny.

What is basic to Novak's work is the thesis that the common good emerges, not from prior intentions of large social bodies (i.e., the government) but as a result of free-market forces (he has a very expansive notion of *market* as a cultural reality beyond the purely economic function of markets), which produce the common good. This is a conclusion that should not surprise those who have read Novak's earlier work. That not everyone will agree to this notion is patent from a perusal of a recent essay by David Hollenbach on the common good in *Theological Studies* (vol. 50, pp. 70-94) where Novak's arguments are, *en passant*, taken up. I had the opportunity to read that essay just as I finished Novak, and before beginning Hollenbach's recent book.

Free Persons and the Common Good, *by Michael Novak, Madison Books, $17.95, 223 pp.*

Hollenbach's collected essays makes a nice companion piece to Novak's. Hollenbach is more the theologian and better read in the theological tradition than Novak who is more a philosopher of religion. These essays range over specific topics on a wide array of social problems (jobs, the nature of work, human rights) to more theoretical issues like the nature of justice. They are models of clarity and sophisticated in their theological depth. What I most like about these studies are their irenic balance and their fairness. Hollenbach tells us what he is going to say, says it, and indicate the significance of what has been said. In essays on Just War theory, he makes a genuine effort to see the pacifist alternative, not as a sectarian response for the Christian, but as an integral part of our inherited tradition. His carefully nuanced historical approach to papal documents is always able. In an excellent essay on the nature of work, he offers some enlargement (and critique) of Pope John Paul's *Laborem exercens*.

Justice, Peace, and Human Rights: American Catholic Social Ethics in a Pluralistic Context, *by David Hollenbach, S.J., Crossroad, $16.95, 260 pp.*

Hollenbach has been closely associated with the formulation of the American bishops' recent letter on the economy. What he has to say sheds light and provides background to both this document and the pastoral on peace. The bishops, judging from these essays, have been well served. I found this book to be profoundly satisfying and was much instructed by it.

By evangelicalism, James Hunter means the North American expression of theologically conservative Protestantism. It is an umbrella term that subsumes the classic evangelical tradition as well as

LAWRENCE S. CUNNINGHAM *is a professor of theology at the University of Notre Dame. His books include* The Catholic Experience *and* The Catholic Faith: An Introduction, *both from Paulist Press.*

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charismatics and fundamentalists. Such folk have been very much in the news since at least the Jimmy Carter years but their potency in America culture can be traced back to at least the Second Great Awakening in this country, during the 1790s and early 1800s. Hunter's work, based on a good deal of field research, wishes to assess their position in the world today while Evangelicals are conservative ethically and theologically, they are not rigid yahoos as the journalistic caricatures would have it. In his chapter on family values, for instance, he notes that the Evangelical defense of the "model" family (based on a late bourgeois concept of the family) is in a state of fluidity; his very chapter title gives a hint of what he sees happening: "Family: Towards Androgyny." Likewise, the vaunted conservatism of the Evangelicals is not absolute. While only 25 percent of Evangelical students favor the ERA (as against 66

Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation, *by James Davison Hunter, Chicago, $11.95, 302 pp.*

percent of students in public universities), 76 percent favor gun registration. Only 27 percent demand prayer in public schools but 83 percent favor equal time for creationist theories while nearly 60 percent of public university students favor the same equal time. Liberal Evangelicals tend to come from either the Rocky Mountain or Pacific areas and have blue-collar backgrounds while the conservatives are more middle class and from the South and Midwest; class seems to be a significant indicator of a liberal or conservative sect.

Hunter's book is not merely a *vademecum* of statistics. It is a closely argued, and clearly written, account of contemporary evangelical attitudes especially as they are refracted through the changing experience of younger Evangelicals. He studies evangelicalism as a cultural system, and in that study, to cite the judgment on the jacket, many stereotypes are exploded and the force of modernity on Evangelical orthodoxy is set out. This is a stimulating work that deserves an attentive reading by both religionists and those interested in American culture generally.

Until very recently, American presidents observed a sort of gentlemanly distance from intense religious expression as a method of preserving the common national consensus. That spirit of detachment gave way with Jimmy Carter's election in 1976. Carter was not only the most theologically literate president of the century (Wilson would be his only competitor for the title) but he was unabashedly religious in open and public ways. That his natural constituency—the Evangelicals—should be snatched away by Ronald Reagan is part of the story Hutcheson tells in this readable book. It is a cautionary tale that tries to assess how much religion the American public will tolerate; how much religion can enter into public policy; how one balances the demands of various constituencies; and so on.

Hutcheson rounds up the usual suspects—Jesse Jackson, Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell, etc.—but his book, on the whole, is fair and judicious. It ends before the Bush presidency so we do not have the opportunity to read the author's reflections on a president who is a committed church person (like Ford and Carter; and unlike Reagan), but who seems a bit more resistant to the agenda of the religious

God in the White House: How Religion Has Changed the Modern Presidency, *by Richard G. Hutcheson, Jr., Macmillan, $18.95, 267 pp.*

ideologues who got at least lip service from Ronald Reagan. One can only speculate at this stage whether Bush will back away from the Reaganesque *realpolitik*, for example, on human rights to an attitude of studied resistance to human rights abuses that was one of the shining moments of the Carter years.

Virgil Elizondo is a priest in San Antonio, Texas who has been at the forefront of efforts to make the Hispanic church better known and more appreciated in North America. Given the demographics of Catholic America this is a commendable work not solely derived from ethnic pride but from the sheer numbers of Hispanic Catholics in this country.

This book, first published in France (1987) where Elizondo studied, is part autobiography and part theological reflection. He recounts the tension of grow-

The Future Is Mestizo, *by Virgil Elizondo, Meyer-Stone, $7.95, 128 pp.*

ing up as a Mexican-American in an Anglo-dominated culture and the cultural difficulties in his path to the priesthood when Irish/German clergy looked down on the Mexican seminarians as unreliable and/or unteachable. This is a story that is a teaching moment for anyone who is not of Hispanic background. I found it very chastening to read.

The second half of the book explores a vision of theology deriving from the Mestizo (Spanish/Indian) culture rooted in the dynamics of Our Lady of Guadalupe as an organizing symbol of that culture and a very moving portrait of Jesus as *mestizo*. It is a theology that has passion without sentimentality and solidity without ponderousness. What Elizondo does is employ Paul Tillich's method of correlation (the juxtaposition of experience and revelatory claims) to construct a religious vision that is consonant with both experience and the claims of faith. It is very much an American theology if one is willing to concede that Americans can live and think at a border which is more than geographical. It is a theology thought out "from below" and, as such, bears a family resemblance to liberation theology with its sense of the popular Catholic tradition, its evangelical passion, and its matrix of a lived cultural experience. □

Correction: In Scott Mainwaring's review of Penny Lernoux's book, *People of God* [May 19], the third sentence in the first paragraph was distorted. It should have read: "*People of God* is a detailed journalistic account of the new conservative challenge and of the ensuing battles between ecclesiastical conservatives, moderates, and progressives." Our apologies. THE EDITORS

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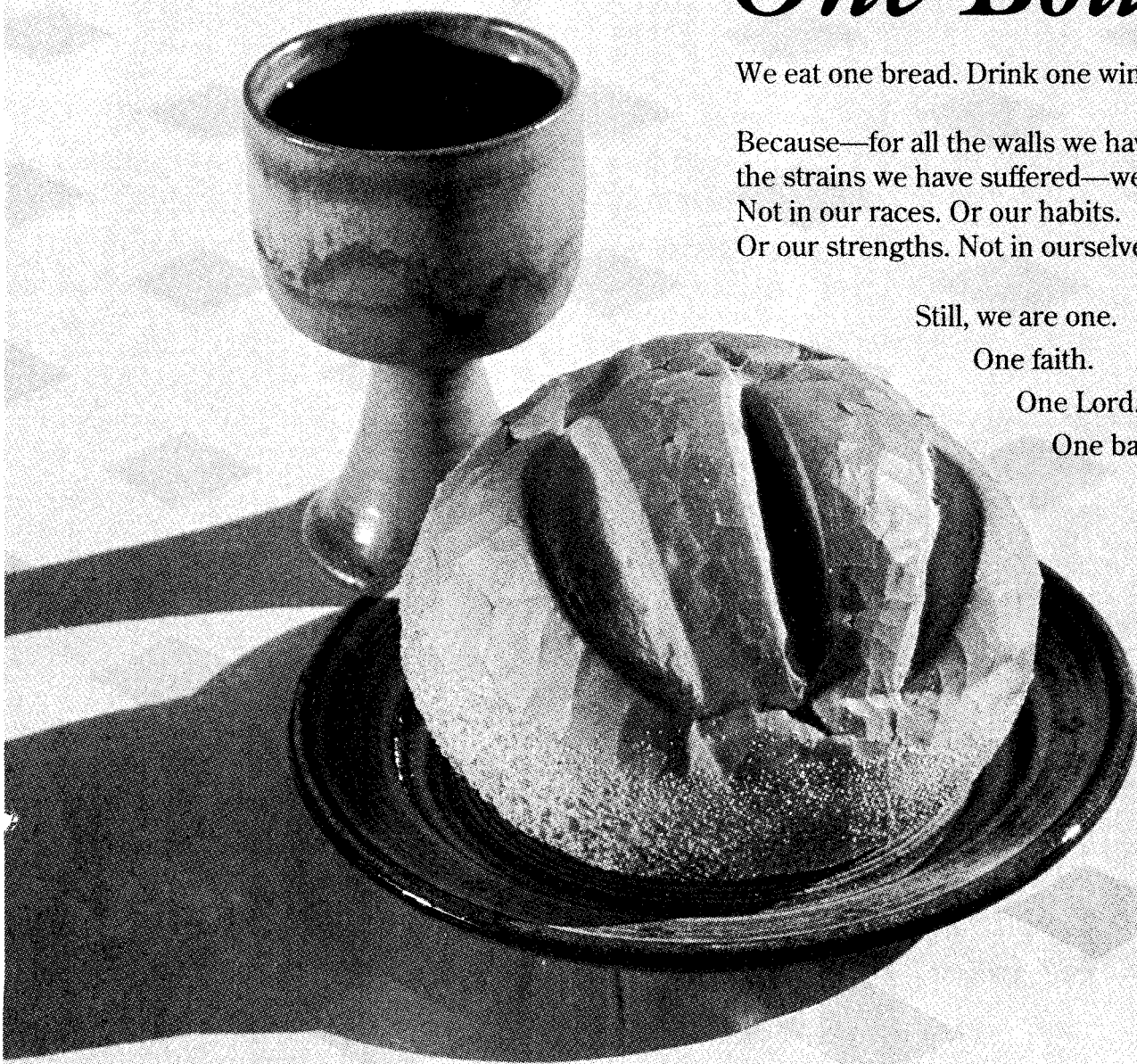
One Body

We eat one bread. Drink one wine.

Because—for all the walls we have built, all
the strains we have suffered—we are one.
Not in our races. Or our habits.
Or our strengths. Not in ourselves.

Still, we are one.
One faith.
One Lord.
One baptism.



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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 354)

well articulated and echoed conversations, experience, and ministry that many of us are engaged in as concerned Catholics. There was a statement, however, that could be taken erroneously by divorced Catholics, and perhaps by even a few pastors who would otherwise risk their ecclesial necks in this arena.

In the fourth paragraph the author states: "While Roman and American prelates debate tribunal procedures, the vast majority of divorced Catholics either absent themselves from Holy Communion or participate in violation of church law." To the best of my ability, I was unable to find any church law among the Revised Code of Canon Law that prohibits divorced Catholics from receiving the Sacraments. Divorced Catholics were never sanctioned by Canon Law in any way regarding Eucharist. Divorced Catholics who remarry without tribunal interaction do have irregular status, but nothing in church law presently forbids them from receiving Eucharist if they believe that they should. Even though some would claim that church *teaching* absolutely denies Eucharist to divorced Catholics with irregular status, the weight of this teaching falls considerably below both the Gospel and the teaching of the Second Vatican Council. Therefore, it cannot be absolute.

The bottom line of the Gospel is undeniably one of compassion. The story of a woman at Jacob's Well (John 4), who was married five times and living with yet another man, and who was officially commissioned to tell the Good News, fits bottom-line Gospel far better than absolute sanctions against at least ten million divorced Catholics in the U.S. and far more worldwide.

Vatican II proclaims that personal decisions of well-formed conscience are above, not only church teaching, but church law (see *Dignitatis humanae*, Declaration on Religious Liberty, particularly section 3). So what is the basis of complaint by Rome when U.S. bishops are formally reconciling less than 1 percent of their divorced fold a year?

HERMAN DENNIS KNOBLE

The editors reply:

It is *Commonweal*'s general policy not to publish pseudonymous articles, for the reasons suggested by our readers. However, in certain circumstances we have decided that the value to our readers of the information and insights of a writer who could only write without identifying himself or herself outweighed the inconveniencies of anonymity. At different times in the past, *Commonweal* has seen fit to publish a regular Washington column under a pseudonym and a regular labor column under a pseudonym. We have also had to publish pseudonymous reports on events in Eastern European or other oppressive regimes and occasionally, alas, on events in the Catholic church.

In any case, we certainly do not publish material by authors not known to us and judged by us to be trustworthy. That is what differentiates these articles from Bishop Walsh's "anonymous letter." We also exercise special care that authors do not take advantage of a necessary pseudonymity to be irresponsible. It would be a church truer to itself if Joseph McNeal could have written without risking reprisals by revealing his or her identity. Such was not the case. THE EDITORS

Religions differ

Chestnut Hill, Mass.

To the Editors: John Garvey is to be commended for his defense of the differences among religions ["God's True Brew," April 21]. The goals of mutual respect, spiritual enrichment, and cooperation are not aided by inattentiveness to the particularity of each religion.

I cannot agree, however, with Garvey's claim that "where Christianity and the other religions of revelation (Judaism and Islam) differ from the Eastern religions is in the belief that God has moved toward us." Hinduism, to cite the example with which I am familiar, contains many instances of belief in a positive divine revelation and a gracious, divine choice to initiate movement toward the human. This belief is amply explained and defended in Hindu theological texts.

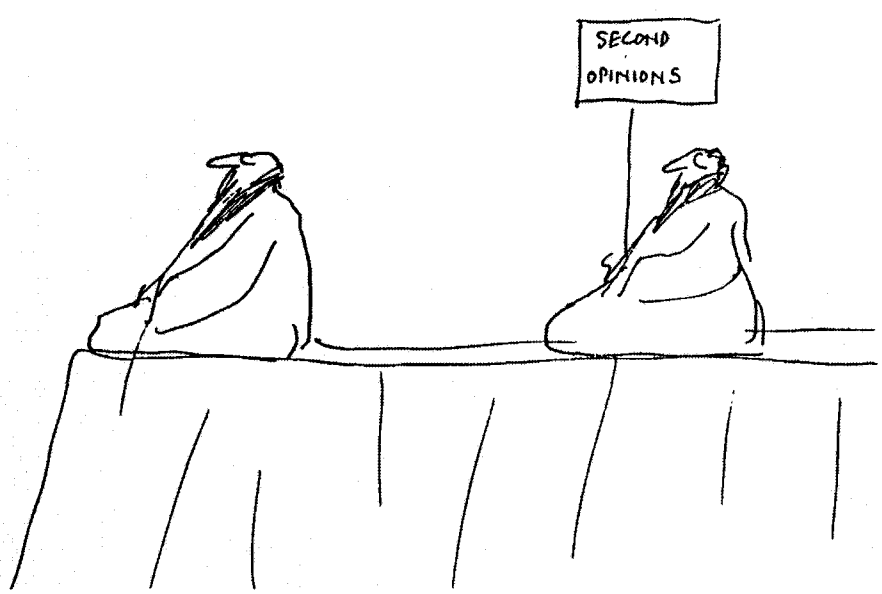
Whether this belief is correct or not is a point for further investigation and judgment. But the suggestion that the "Eastern religions" are primarily a "human search for a profound meaning," in which that meaning is passive, is not adequate to the currently available information about how these religions think of themselves.

FRANCIS X. CLOONEY, S.J.

Campbell & Christians

San Francisco, Calif.

To the Editors: Whatever else Joseph Campbell was, he certainly was not a Mother Teresa. His shallow and smirking commentary on the God that he (and Jung) clearly rejected should not be so euphorically and mindlessly accepted by those who profess to follow the living Christ. John Garvey should be congratulated for



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his boldness in bringing a Christian witness to bear on our commonly held assumptions. MACRINA CORBETT

Low-cost housing

Churchville, N.Y.

To the Editors: It seemed strange to me that in Peter Dreier's article on nonprofit housing ["Local Success Stories," April 7], there is not a single line about Habitat for Humanity of Americus, Georgia.

Chapters in many cities around the nation and worldwide are providing donated time, labor, money, and materials to make low-cost housing available with interest-free mortgages. Last summer in Rochester, N.Y., in a one-week volunteer effort by college students, a new house was built from the foundation to enclosure under the auspices of the Flower City Chapter of Habitat. The work here has the support of a wide range of ecumenically minded traditions, Christian and Jewish, as well as of nonreligious groups and individuals.

I would be happy to see you give a complete article to their work and some indication of their place among the other fine programs in Dreier's report.

REV. ROBERT BRANDENSTEIN
First Congregational Church of Riga

The editors reply:

Some time ago, *Commonweal* devoted a short article to the work of Habitat and its founder, Millard Fuller (see "Economics of Shelter," November 2-16, 1984).

THE EDITORS

Successful nonprofits

St. Paul, Minn.

To the Editors: Peter Dreier did a good job of summarizing changes in the nonprofit housing movement during the past decade, necessitated primarily by federal housing cutbacks ["Local Success Stories," April 7]. As president of one of the 2,000 nonprofit developers he lauds for filling in current gaps in affordable housing, I want to thank you for your portrayal of nonprofits as the viable, proven partners in housing that we feel we are.

In his sidebar, Mr. Dreier called our company the "Catholic Archdiocese of Minneapolis/St. Paul"; I would like to clarify that I.D. The Community Development Corporation was originally sponsored by the Archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis in 1974 to provide decent, affordable housing for low-income families, seniors, and handicapped people. While the archdiocese remains an essential partner, CDC has succeeded in building and strengthening its own track record through partnerships with a diverse selection of community, financial, religious, and housing organizations. Since our incorporation, we have sponsored and developed more than 1,600 housing units in southern Minnesota, working with locally based nonprofit organizations. Through our management subsidiary, Westminster Corporation, we are able to provide people-oriented management services for all of these housing owners.

Nonprofit housing organizations are making a difference in the national effort to provide all Americans with suitable housing. JOSEPH A. L. ERRIGO, JR.

In praise of poets

Wickliffe, Ohio

To the Editors: Compliments to poet Pamela Uschuk on the composition and publication of "Red Cat Near Old Snow" [May 5]. I had feared that the poem would be less affecting than the poignant quote from Soviet dissident poet Irina Ratushinskaya, which served as preface to the piece. The lyric superseded its mood-setting introduction.

To me as amateur poet and omnivorous reader, poetry is much more than "filler" copy in any periodical. When one sally is propagated in all its sensitivity it is certainly well worth its space. In this present instance, I cannot imagine your quite limited space being put to better use.

WILLIAM DAUENHAUER

Teach birth control

Adairville, Ky.

To the Editors: As a strong supporter of the prochoice option on abortion, I did agree with the summarizing paragraph of your May 5 editorial, "The Longer March." Conspicuously absent in the list of panaceas is educating women and men on reproduction and government subsidies of birth control. These seem to me to be a much better investment than "direct government grants for children." As most every magazine published in America will report, we are overpopulating our planet severely. Your conclusions that we must support children born on our planet are correct, but need to be extended to say that children born should be "wanted" children. Subsidizing birth control education is a much better investment than abortion, as well as a better choice for both sides.

LYNETTA LEWIS ALEXANDER

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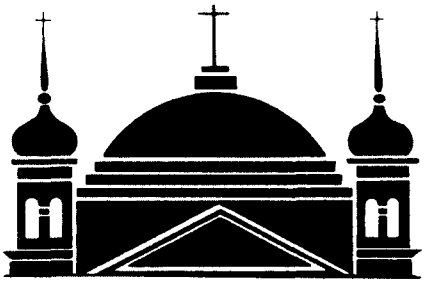

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